THE PSYCHOLOGY
OF A
SUPPRESSED PEOPLE

by

Rev. J. C. HEINRICH, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

The removal of untouchability in India involves a dealing with deep-seated unsocial behaviour patterns found extensively in groups of oppressed people. In our study we have gathered together instances of such behaviour. Their roots are traced to the oppressive conditions of living that have shaped emotional development. The work of psychologists in the study of like phenomena has been extensively used. The problem is not exclusively modern. The behaviour of untouchability was acute when Moses led his people out of the slavery of Egypt. The record of the Exodus presents striking parallels to present day conduct.

While the question discussed is peculiarly acute in India it is by no means confined to this country. The parallel between "sweeper" behaviour and that found extensively among the Negroes in America has been drawn in the early chapters. The Mission problems arising out of dealing with the behaviour described will, to some extent, be common to most Mission fields. In dealing with a basic problem of human relations

the study has points of contact with educational and political policies as well as with methods of work in the social and religious fields.

In the removal of untouchability in India much remains to be done by government, missions, and the privileged groups of society. The greater part of the work, however, can be done only through individuals who have themselves emerged from this group background. This makes imperative the training of leaders from among their own people. Doing this means throwing responsibility upon them for their own emergence from the very beginning. For all who would help in the situation, an insight into the factors present in the problem is essential. It is to the formation of such insights that we hope this volume will contribute.

More is involved than a mere removal of undesirable behaviour. A reservoir of emotional power linked with unfulfilled desire may be socialized and utilized. Along this line a psychological cure is indicated. There is a challenge here to skill in social engineering and the art of living.

We hope this effort will help stimulate a greater interest in the study of the social sciences and in their application to the problems of India. Socializing human emotions and energy is the pressing problem of the day.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL BEHAVIOUR PATTERN AND OPPRESSION STIMULI AMONG DEPRESSED CLASSES OF INDIA

THE removal of untouchability is one of the five points of the Nationalist programme in India. Since the mass movement from among the untouchables of India in the sixties and seventies, Christian Missions have been at work at this project. The problem has striking parallels to the Negro problem in the United States. Emergence from conditions of practical slavery by portions of the groups has begun at approximately the same time. Among both classes there is an emerging educated minority. The dominating groups in both cases have been doubtful about the speed with which emergence is to be encouraged. A writer reporting in 1912 on the policy of the Depressed Class Mission, a liberal Hindu organization, gives a summary of attitude and policy strangely descriptive of the attitude of the Southern Whites of about the same period.

"The principles of the movement are far from clear. Is the pariah to be made less miserable but kept in his place all the same, or is he to be no longer 'untouchable' and admitted to ordinary social

intercourse? No one dare give a plain answer to the question. On the committees of the movement there are two sets of leaders—those who are prepared to give up the caste distinctions and treat the pariahs as the missionaries treat them, and those who are nervous about going too fast and anxious to make the pariahs lot a little better. It is the latter party which at present always carries the day." [1]

The problem constituted by untouchability, as has been suggested in the introduction, involves traits that are part of a widespread behaviour pattern. Removal of untouchability has in popular emphasis been largely regarded as a change of attitude of the privileged classes. By far the most difficult and complex part of the problem lies in re-educating, and socializing the behaviour of the oppressed group. A paragraph of Phillips gives us a vivid picture of some of these traits that will be encountered and will require constructive social engineering for their correction.

" Not a few of their customs are unfit for detailed description, etc. Many of them eat carrion, some subdivisions of them eat rats. The writer will not easily forget seeing one day in a time of scarcity a buffalo which had fallen dead in a field round which scores of pariahs from the nearest village were crowding, hacking great lumps from the carcass and rushing home with their booty. From a little distance the sight was exactly like that of flies swarming over a piece of rotten meat. According to Government census of 1910, 99·5 per cent. of the pariahs can neither read nor write. This, of course, excludes those who

[1] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcast's Hope*, p. 23.

have become Christians. Most of them are terribly addicted to drink, their chief beverage being 'toddy,' a liquor both cheap and very intoxicating so that a man can get thoroughly drunk for three-halfpence. Statistics show that alcoholic drinking of all kinds among all classes is seriously increasing in India, but as there are no separate figures for the lower classes it is impossible to say how much of the increase is due to them, though it is a common impression of Christian workers among them that they are drinking more than ever in these days. Not long ago a fisherman in a village on the seacoast near Madras made a lucky haul, and in a single night caught about £10 worth of fish, an amount fabulous according to his modest standards. The sole result of this good fortune was that for a full fortnight afterwards there was not a sober man in two whole villages." [1]

His apparent submissiveness and acquiescence in his miserable condition is part of the pattern of untouchability. Thus another descriptive paragraph by Phillips gives a condition apparently true for the untouchable, much less true of course for the emerging groups of Christians.

" Most of the outcasts are not troubled by their degradation and have not only no serious desire to rise, but even no serious belief in the possibility of their rising. 'We are pariahs,' is their answer to all suggestions as to possible improvement. 'How can you bear to be in that state? Don't you want to be clean?' asks a missionary lady of a filthy pariah woman. 'Why should I want to be clean? I am a pariah!' is the frank reply. Surely this contentment with their condition is the worst feature of all.

[1] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcast's Hope*, p. 8.

It would be infinitely more helpful if they lamented their present position, and determined, even resentfully, that it should be changed." [1]

Another paragraph by Phillips gives a description that will be echoed by every missionary who has worked among them. It is worth noting how he draws attention to the fact that this particular kind of behaviour is an abnormal response difficult to be understood by normal men. It is a phenomenon, however, whose significance will at once be recognized by the psychiatrist.

"But it is not even the peoples' poverty which is the greatest difficulty; it is the disposition, already mentioned, to think of themselves as naturally dependent upon others, as surely as the creeper on its supporting tree, or the child upon its parents. This tendency has been engrafted in them for 1000 years, and is now a part of their very nature. The sense of pleasure which self-respecting men have in standing on their own feet is at first totally incomprehensible to pariahs. God made them, they think, to lean on others; if it were not so He would have created them in some other caste. Nothing annoys the missionary so much as the constant declaration by the village Christians that he is their father and their mother—a statement which is always the preface to some fresh appeal for help." [2]

An appraisal in an article by the Bishop of Dormakal summarized traits characteristically found among these groups.

[1] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcast's Hope*, p. 16. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

"The evils notoriously connected with these labourers are these: petty field thefts, drink, insolence, and loose marriage relationships. This last perhaps is the most difficult evil to eradicate." [1]

A cursory acquaintance with the Negroes in the south of the U.S.A. and with the literature about them shows how striking are the resemblances between these marks of untouchability above described, and the weaknesses attributed to the Negro. Filth, illiteracy, lack of ambition, lackadaisical carelessness, abject dependence, loose marriage relations, wild and showy extravagance, drunkenness, and (a trait not mentioned by the above writers but found in all the city "sweeper" quarters) a habitual tendency to gamble recklessly are all marks that have been celebrated in fiction and description as marks of the Southern Negro. All these have often been presented as evidence of biological differences and inferiority. It is, however, not difficult to find other factors to account for the above conduct and reactions.

Before accepting the marks of untouchability as due to a biological difference or inferiority it will be well to follow the psychopathologist's clue given in the somewhat technical paragraph in the margin.[2] A description of the conditions

[1] The Bishop of Dormakal, "Living Forces," *International Review of Missions*, October, 1929, p. 540.

[2] "Somatic discomforts and disabilities and dysteleological overt adjustive movements which are obviously not due to toxic, traumatic, and other gross interference with vegetative and

under which the outcast lives shows clearly stimulations to which *he is more or less continuously subjected*, to *which he cannot always acquire actual unresponsiveness*, and to which *direct reactions involve severe disadvantages*. As we shall see later these conditions are much the same among the Negroes whose reactions are strikingly similar to those of the untouchables. It is very probable that the similar behaviour of the two groups is the outcome of the pressure and stimulations about to be described. Much of this conduct bears the well marked characteristics of nervous depression and hysteria.

> " Stimulations to which the Untouchable is more or less continuously subjected ;
> To which he cannot acquire actual unresponsiveness ;
> To which he cannot react directly without suffering a real or imagined disadvantage."

Phillips' description of these stimulations is a narrative of well-known fact, although it is necessary to bear in mind that emergence has begun. It is too soon to appraise the extent to which this emergence has been stimulated by the great anti-untouchability campaign launched

behaviouristic functions or to any kind of discoverable stimulations ought always to lead the clinician to a quest of stimulations to which the patient is more or less continuously subjected, to which he cannot acquire actual unresponsiveness, and to which he cannot react directly without suffering a real or imagined disadvantage." Hamilton, G. V., *An Introduction to Objective Psychopathology*, p. 281.

by Mahatma Gandhi. The outcast's handicaps, however, are not such as can be removed in a day. Phillips' picture is sharply drawn:

"The man born in the outcast village may as soon think of building his house in the other group as a pig may think of going to live in his master's front room." [1]

Back of this discrimination is a force of religious sanction that makes the suggestion of inferiority a peculiarly potent stimulation:

"Manu had told India that the low caste man was created to be the slave of the Brahmins. As to certain classes of outcasts he had laid down the following regulations:—

"'The abode of a Chandala and a Swapaca must be out of town; they must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, brown pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; continuously must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them; let their transactions be confined to themselves, and their marriages be only between equals. Let food be given them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities and towns.'" [2]

The pressure of this stimulation is increased by the apparent hopelessness of a change:

"In India the bonds of caste are of steel: as soon may a black puppy-dog be changed into a white one as a barber become a Brahmin. This is the exact

[1] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcast's Hope*, p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

comparison used in one of the best-known popular stories in India."[1]

How far these disabilities are continuous and the extent of their pressure we can realize from a perusal of some of the detailed description that Phillips presents:

"Every one who knows village life in India knows that while in the eye of British law and according to all the rules of British administration, the outcast has equal rights with men of all castes, in point of fact there is many a village post office and many a government court house in which he dare not set his foot. He cannot wear his loincloth so that it hangs below his knee. He must stand in a servile posture in the presence of the village head-man. If by some rare good fortune he has gained a little piece of land, he cannot retain the ownership of it without constant watchfulness and struggle against the encroachments and plots by his caste neighbours."[2]

"One of the few Indian gentlemen who had seriously cared about the condition of the depressed classes and had worked hard for their elevation recently addressed a number of their head men in Mangalore on the West Coast. Here are some extracts from his speech which give us an idea of the treatment accorded to the outcasts: 'And what are you now, ye descendants of Nanda? You have no lands, no house and garden, no money wherewith to eat what you like and put on the raiment you want. You are absolutely without education. Your approach is considered unholy, and even your shadow is hated. Men touch dogs and pigs, but they won't touch you, ye descendants of Nanda; you are called pariahs. A landowner selling his lands to another sells you and yours

[1] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcast's Hope*, p. 4. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

to the vendee whose property you become. An owner in need of money pledges you for four or six rupees, and until the pledge is redeemed you are the property of the pawnee. You are called by that abominable term pariah. Among the higher caste people it is a term of abuse. A liar or a thief, a drunkard or a traitor who is to be rebuked is called pariah. When you are severely beaten you go to the petition writer, pay him, and get the complaint written. He gets money from you for the court fee required for complaint and for process of witnesses, and puts the complaint and stamps in a cover before you, and asks you to drop the cover in the post office letter box, assuring you that you and your witnesses will get notices from the magistrate shortly. And without your knowing it the cover is addressed to the petition writer himself, it is delivered to himself the next day, and you expect for months together to get orders from the magistrate and finally blame the Government that it is indifferent toward you." [1]

We have noted before how the general behaviour pattern of the pariah or untouchable and of the Southern Negro bear striking resemblances. We may now proceed to a study of the conditions under which the Southern Negro lives. Here too there are stimulations, strikingly similar to those of the untouchable, to which *he is more or less continuously subjected*, *to which he cannot always acquire actual unresponsiveness*, and to *which direct reaction involves real or imagined disadvantages*." [2]

[1] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcast's Hope*, p. 4.

[2] Hamilton, G. V., *An Introduction to Objective Psychopathology*, p. 281.

CHAPTER II

OPPRESSION STIMULI IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO

"To which he is more or less continuously subjected;
To which he cannot acquire actual unresponsiveness.;
To which he cannot react directly without suffering
a real or imagined disadvantage."

CONDITIONS that are constantly forcing upon the Negro a feeling of inferiority are quite similar to those under which the Depressed Classes of India labour. Quotations from a few writers are typical of a vast amount of material in the writings of Negro intellectuals and others who have lived with the Negro and are qualified observers and interpreters of his conduct. The study of Robert Moton on *What the Negro Thinks* is highly revealing:

"Always, everywhere, the principle is carefully maintained, a Negro must not under any circumstances receive the same consideration as a white man—he must have no occasion to think himself as good as a white man. This is one of those sacred traditions, happily disappearing, that a certain type of white man feels must be maintained at any cost." [1]

[1] Moton, R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 159.

The same author reveals the extent of the pressure along this line exercised by segregation :

" The policy of segregation, wherever it is in force, touches all Negroes, irrespective of their means, education, character, or position, and in actual practice subjects them all to embarrassment, humiliation, and injustice. Segregation as practised puts the badge of inferiority on the Negro, and Negroes everywhere believe that it is intended to do so by those who direct it." [1]

A little later the same writer says :

" To accept the required segregation is to accept the thesis of undesirability on which it is founded, and to concede the assumption of inferiority which accompanies its practice. The thinking Negro sees this clearly : the unthinking Negro—if such there be —when it comes to this question feels that there is something wrong about it. Among all classes it is resented as the most humiliating form of racial discrimination with the least substantial cause or justification." [2]

The *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* is the story of a mulatto whose light colour enabled him to " cross the line." He tells how he decided to cross over after witnessing a Negro lynching. Here too we see the effect of the stigma of inferiority and the power of the influence it exerts as revealed by one on the inside :

" All the while I understood that it was not discouragement or fear, or search for a larger opportunity of action that was driving me out of the Negro race.

[1] Moton, R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 69. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

I knew that it was *shame, unbearable shame.* Shame at being identified with a people that could with impunity be treated worse than animals. For certainly the law would restrain and punish the malicious burning alive of animals."[1]

Embree, son of one of the white pioneers in Negro education, in a recent scholarly treatment of the Negro question gives a picture of this race prejudice at work:

"A glaring evil of the whole caste system is that any Negro, however intelligent, cultivated or prosperous is at the mercy of any white man, however ignorant or disreputable. The president of a University or the director of a bank may be insulted with impunity by the lowest white."[2]

Stribling, in his story of the reception of the educated mulatto Peter Siner who had returned to his home in the South to work among his own people, pictures the effects of the above attitude a little more graphically:

"This unremitting insistence on his colour, this continual shunting him into obscure and filthy ways gradually gave Peter a loathsome sensation. It increased the unwashed feeling that followed his lack of a morning bath. The impression grew upon him that he was handled with tongs, along back-alley routes, that he and his race were something to be kept out of sight as much as possible, as careful housekeepers manœuvre their slops."[3]

[1] *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man,* p. 187.
[2] Embree, E. R., *Brown America,* p. 223.
[3] Stribling, T. C., *Birthright,* p. 13.

Some of the more subtle attitudes and suggestions and their effects are probably more damaging in their total impress than are the more glaring and outstanding methods of oppression. Here too a statement by a careful observer finds a commentary in descriptive fiction :

" The patronizing attitude is really more damning than the competitive struggle. The stone wall of calm assumption of his inferiority is to the Negro a keener hurt and a greater obstacle than the battle which admits an adversary worth fighting against. It is hard to keep ambition alive and to obtain morale when those for whom you have fondness and respect keep thinking and saying that you are only children, that you can never grow up, that you are cast by God in an inferior mould." [1]

Stribling again gives us the reflections of his character, Peter Siner :

" Peter left his mother to her stare and went to his room. The constant implication among Niggertown and all its inhabitants that Niggertown and all it held was worthless, mean, and inhuman depressed Peter. The mulatto knew the real trouble with Niggertown was that it had adopted the white village's estimate of it. The suggestion of the white village was overpowering among the imitative Negroes. The black folk looked into the eyes of the white and saw themselves reflected as chaff and scum, and slime, and no human being ever suggested they were aught else." [2]

[1] Embree, E. R., *Brown America*, p. 235.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

There is no dearth of material such as the above in the literature concerning the Negro. The stimulations are continuous, the responses occasionally direct as in the protests of Negro authors. More often, however, they are indirect and produce behaviour patterns more or less characteristic of the conditions.

CHAPTER III

REACTIONS TO OPPRESSION IN NEGROES AND INDIAN DEPRESSED CLASSES

(1) Direct Reaction of Resentment
(2) Concealment Reaction
(3) Indirect Reaction

(1) Direct Reaction of Resentment

The reactions to the stimuli of oppression just described may be either direct and easily understood or may consist of distorted behaviour of various types. The direct reactions are the resentment and shame of every degree suggested by Moton and the author of the *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man.* Record of such direct reactions to the stimuli of oppression are not lacking. Mrs. Harper of Moga tells of the testimony of one of the Moga pupils relating his experience as a boy in the village depressed class quarters. He told how he used to weep continuously at the thought of being condemned to live for ever in these surroundings. He spoke also of the wonderful sense of relief that came to him one day as he worked for a Sikh farmer and was allowed to spend the night in his quarters. Note the connection between this highly emotional

experience and that recorded of the American Negro poet and scholar, Du Bois, as recorded by Mecklin:

"Du Bois tells us how as a boy, when he realized that he lived within the veil, he was happiest when he excelled his pale-faced mates in his books, at a foot-race, or even when he would beat their stringy heads."[1]

Both these reactions by young boys indicate the amount of emotional resentment produced by the realization that they were definitely handicapped in their progress and ambition by forces outside their control.

These reactions are connected with those described by Groves in his interpretation of Watson:

"Watson tells us that anger in its earliest childhood expression is related to situations that hamper the infant's movements. For example, the holding of the child's head produces in him at once the physical expressions of rage. The child starts crying, the body stiffens, the arms and legs correlate in striking movements, the breath is held until the face of the child reddens. From birth, almost, any baby can be thrown into a rage by holding its arms tightly to its sides. Anyone who has hampered a young child in any of its body movements can testify to the ease with which anger can be produced."[2]

Groves takes us a step farther:

"Hate is a sort of chronic anger. It comes about when strong desires are blocked, especially when one's

[1] Mecklin, J. M., *Democracy and Race Friction*, p. 150.
[2] Groves, Ernest, *Personality and Social Adjustment*, p. 123.

pride is seriously hurt. Hatred is intense, and demands for its satisfaction the humiliation of him who has been responsible for the emotion. Hatred spreads quickly through a group when by the use of suggestion all the individuals come to have the same feeling of anger. Hatred particularly thrives where the sense of relationships has been lost. To emphasize the human resemblances between oneself and the hated person melts the emotion, and for that reason when one is caught by hatred he magnifies differences and resents any suggestion of likeness. Hate conceals its evil nature by clothing itself in the symbol of justice. As a consequence much vengeance which is supposedly just is really the creation of the monster hate, rationalized to escape the risk of social disapprobation." [1]

There is on record a considerable amount of evidence of this direct reaction of hate born of shame and resentment to the stimulation of oppression, particularly in the Negro. Seligman gives the testimony of a Negro officer in the overseas army :

" One Negro officer at the close of a letter setting forth the difficulties he had had to endure, remarked : ' I am beginning to wonder whether it will ever be possible for me to see an American White without wishing he were in his Satanic Majesty's private domain. I must pray long and earnestly that hatred of my fellow-men be removed from my heart and that I can truthfully lay claim to being a Christian.' " [2]

The author of the *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* gives a description of this group :

[1] Groves, Ernest, *Personality and Social Adjustment*, p. 123.
[2] Seligman, H. J., *The Negro Faces America*, p. 140.

" There are those constituting what might be called the desperate class. I have heard more than one of them say, ' I'll go to hell for the first white man that bothers me.' Many who have expressed that sentiment have kept their word ; and it is that fact which gives such prominence to this class ; for in numbers it is but a small proportion of the coloured people, but it often dominates public opinion concerning the whole race." [1]

This rage is often directed at the general environment as in the case of Rose, the Captain's old coloured cook :

" Peter was amazed by the old crone's ability to maintain an unending and concentrated stream of virulence. . . . Rose was cooking the Captain's breakfast, she performed this function in a kind of solitary rage. She banged the vessels, slammed the stove-eyes off and on, flung the stove wood about and kept up a snarling animadversion upon every topic that drifted through her kinky head. She called the kitchen a rat-hole, stated that the Captain must be mean as the dirt to live as long as he did, complained that no one ever paid any attention to her, that she might as well be a stray cat and so on." [2]

Ovington, in *The Shadow*, gives us a glimpse of the same violence in the exclamation of the old Negro mammy when she hears Hertha's story. Hertha was the unwanted cast-off child of white parents who had been left at the door of mammy's cabin. She was there brought up in the cabin

[1] *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, p. 74.
[2] Stribling, T. S., *Birthright*, p. 163.

with the understanding that she was a mulatto. Later she hears the story of her parentage :

" Hertha was a long time telling her story. When she described the little she knew of her birth the coloured woman cried angrily : 'De dirty hawgs. Dat's de way dey treat de black children,—I allays know dat—trow em out for us ter care fo ; neber a helpin' hand for de chile of der sin. But ter treat their own like it was an outcast, Oh Lawd.' " [1]

When Mimi the cultured Creole girl comes from New Orleans to Atlanta, she is caught up in the midst of a race riot and sees a man lynched. The racial antagonism and oppression, realized for the first time, made a deep impression. Her reaction was characteristic :

" At other times it inculcated a deep and passionate scorn of those who were her own and her race's oppressors. She chuckled when she read and heard, or saw their imbecilities, their shortcomings. She looked with scorn on their provincialism, their stupidity, their ignorance. Conversely she found herself magnifying the virtues, the excellencies of her own people, and at the same time she tried to explain away through a process of subtle sophistry all their faults.

" She became almost malicious in little cruelties to tradesmen, to hucksters, to clerks in stores who happened to be white. When she read the bulletins of the war news her reflection was, 'Oh, well, it's white people killing white people, the more they kill the better the chances for the coloured peoples.' " [2]

[1] Ovington, Mary W., *The Shadow*, p. 87.

[2] White, Walter, *Flight*, p. 77.

Obviously under the conditions in which most of the Negroes and the depressed classes live, such reactions of direct resentment cannot be openly expressed without involving very real difficulties and disadvantages.

(2) Concealment Reaction

Conklin tells that "chronic rage and anger produce distortions of behaviour all too well known."[1] From Hamilton we learn something of how the distortion is produced. He tells us that distorted behaviour is to be looked for when the stimulations are more or less continuous, when actual responsiveness cannot be acquired, and when direct reaction involves real or imagined disadvantages.

Generally outbursts of rage and anger are apt to bring painful results if they are openly expressed. One of the most common distortions of normal social behaviour that is produced is the building up of a defence mechanism of secrecy. The conflict attitude goes on behind a curtain of deception and camouflage where the individual withdraws in his contact with the dominating group. Bishop McConnell comments on this :

> " Those of us who have dealt with the Negroes of the South know how thoroughly they have learned the lesson exemplified by Porgy in the famous play of a few years ago. Porgy had made the frankest

[1] Conklin, E. S., *Principles of Abnormal Psychology*, p. 63.

answers to police officers investigating a murder which Porgy had seen. As a result the officers discovered just nothing at all. When the police officers withdrew, one of the company remarked, ' Porgy certainly knows how to talk to white folks.' "[1]

Increasingly we are coming to realize that the attitude of the " Inscrutable Orient " is probably altogether a defence mechanism of this sort. Bishop McConnell, speaking on this subject, says :

" Anyone who has had experience with 'natives' so-called in mission fields knows how skilful those natives become in concealing their thoughts from outsiders, even in the midst of a voluble conversation. In a mission field, which I shall not mention, I was once asked by the native workers—I say native in spite of its opprobriousness because it better expresses what I mean than national—to stand for their point of view in a committee debate. When the debate came off these same natives opposed me. I mildly protested when it was all over, but they said they had to talk that way in the presence of foreigners, and they felt sure I would understand. I did understand. To be sure the Anglo-Saxon who prides himself on his forthrightness and downrightness says this was frightful insincerity. Not so fast ; not so fast : it was a defence mechanism on the part of the people who did not always dare to let outsiders see their real inner feelings."[2]

The author of the *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* brings out a fine touch on this

[1] McConnell, Bishop J. A., " What Has India to Give to the World," *Christian Century*, June 3, 1932.

[2] *Ibid.*

subject in his description of a smoking-room discussion of the Negro problem, in which he took part with a Union Civil War veteran, a Southern planter and a Jew:

"In the discussion of the race question, the diplomacy of the Jew was something to be admired; he had the faculty of agreeing with everybody without losing his allegiance to any side." [1]

Garth, in a recent discussion of race psychology, has this to say:

"In the Southern United States the humility of the Negro is certainly a built-up attitude, often superficial, it is true, but more often like second nature." [2]

On this point Dr. Moton is quite outspoken:

"What most of these people who boast that they know the nigger do not realize is the fact that there are certain places of their lives to which Negroes rarely ever, and if so very reluctantly, admit white people, and such as are admitted hardly boast of their knowledge." [3]

A further observation is well worth pondering:

"No one of us will reveal anything to anyone if we think it may be used to our disadvantage." [4]

The result of this increased social distance is pertinently given:

"With decreasing knowledge comes increasing distrust and suspicion and these in turn engender prejudice and even hatred." [5]

[1] *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, p. 155.
[2] Garth, T. R., *Race Psychology*, p. 21.
[3] Moton, R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 12. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Another statement that would probably be laughed out of court by the Southerner who 'knows the nigger,' but which is doubtless true, bears on this behaviour pattern even before the group begins to emerge :

" Even in slavery the Negro took great pains to conceal his resentment and his longings. To-day Negroes, young and old, resent the assertion that they were contented as slaves, which is prima facie evidence, they would say, that the person so declaring does not know them." [1]

" There is a story of a deacon and preacher among the coloured people during a meeting to pray for Confederate arms just after the battle of Gettysburg. Brother Armstead Barkeley was pastor of the Negro Baptist Church and a man of wonderful voice, and magnetic personality. 'O Lord,' he said, 'point the bullets of the Confederate guns right at the hearts of the Yankees, make our men victorious on the battlefield, and send them home in health and strength to join their people in peace and prosperity. (There were 10,000 people present.) After the white folks left, the deacons gathered around and challenged Brother Barkeley for his bold desertion of the cause of his people. His reply in all seriousness was, 'Don't worry, children, the Lord knows what I was talking about,' and everybody was satisfied." [2]

It is worth noting here the testimony of a group of students who went to Cleveland to Negro families who had migrated from the South. They did their best to get the Negroes

[1] Moton, R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

to give them any complaints they had of race prejudice encountered in the South. The only answer they could get was, " We never had any trouble or any complaint. We stayed in our place and attended to our own business."

Shand, in *Black and White*, gives us a picture of this trait in process of formation. Joe, one of the steady, reliable tenant farmers with a good measure of character and self-respect and a fine family, finds that his daughter is having an affair with the son of the plantation owner. Mr. Robertson, the owner, comes upon Joe at night savagely beating the boy's horse. Horrified, he listens to Joe's explanation :

> " ' New lookin' huyeer, Mr. Will,' said Joe, as he stood with his hand on the ramshackle gate of his house lot, ' you know how I have brung my gals up. I ain't never let 'em work for nobody, I knew and you knows about these white men—and Maliney she's been home too, mighty nigh all de time. Naw sah, my wimmen folks has got to have character, Mr. Will, you know dat. Look over dar at John Ramsey's gals. It makes me sick, plumb sick, and him a local preacher, too. It's true I don't preach in de church. I don't do nuthin' but lecture sometimes at prayer meetin' when de preacher ain't der. Why cain't de white men behave deselves an' let our wimmen folk alone, we don't. . . .'
>
> ' Look out, Joe,' said Mr. Robertson sternly, ' Stop right there. Get that mule hitched to the plough.' ' Yassuh, Mr. Will, I wuzn't gwine to say nothin', I was jus' a thinkin'.' "[1]

[1] Shand, *Black and White*, p. 14.

This method of checking an incipient straightforward criticism of the dominant race or group by the stern authority of a member of the group whose word of command has been habitually obeyed by the other, is a most fruitful source of production of the defence mechanism of habitual discretion and concealment. There comes to mind a scene that took place at the first meeting of the Synod of the Punjab that the writer was privileged to attend. A number of the Indian pastors, among whom were the men who had been the leaders in the self-support movement, were fighting vigorously for the Indian control of funds raised from the Indian Church, but collected by the agents employed by the Foreign Mission. When it looked as though the resolution would prevail, a second generation missionary, born and reared in India, rose and with considerable heat scolded the Indian leaders of the debate. He upbraided them for what seemed to him a falling off in their zeal for self-support, and questioned their motives in trying to get control of these funds. At the close of the speech a startling change came over the pastors who had been speaking. The one who had just been rebuked rose, made the Indian obeisance, and recited the phrase "as your honour wishes." A withdrawal behind the racial curtain took place strikingly similar to that of Joe when he was stopped by Mr. Robertson.

This mechanism of concealment is plentifully illustrated in the literature about the Negro. Walter White, from his inside viewpoint, describes it:

"The figure of the protective device of the chameleon came to his mind. Yes, the Negro in the South had many things in common with the chameleon—he had to be able to change his colour, figuratively, to suit the environment of the South in order to be permitted to stay alive."[1]

In Porgy we see this device in action:

"During Marie's attack upon her guest, the court had been full of the varied sounds that accompanied its evening life. Now, gradually, the noise shrunk, seeming to withdraw into itself. All knew what it meant, a white man had entered. The protective curtain of silence which the Negro draws about his life when the Caucasian intrudes hung almost tangibly in the air. No one appeared to notice the visitor. Each was busily preoccupied with his task. Yet the newcomer made no move that was not noted by fifty pairs of inscrutable eyes."[2]

A story pregnant with significances is the conversation of the Negro pastor, Rev. Mr. Wilson:

"'And there's another reason,' continued Rev. Mr. Wilson, 'the white folks here are mighty suspicious of any Negro who has too much learning according to their standards. . . . So I decided I'd smile and bear it and be what the white folks think they want—what the coloured folks call a "white man's nigger."'

[1] White, Walter, *Fire in the Flint*, p. 109.
[2] Heyward, Du Bose, *Porgy*, p. 57.

"With the deliberately imperfect English had gone from the preacher's face the subservient smile." [1]

In the account of the investigation of a murder committed in the Negro quarters the detective and the judge come away with no evidence of any value.

"'Oh, hell,' said the exasperated detective. 'What's the use? you might as well argue with a parrot cage.'

"'That woman is just as ill at this moment as you are,' he said to the unenthusiastic associate when they were again in the sunlight. Her little burlesque show proves that, if nothing else. But there is her case all prepared. I don't believe she killed Crown; she does not look like that kind, she is either just playing safe, or she has something entirely different on her chest. But there's her story, and you will never break in without witnesses of your own; and you will never get 'em.'" [2]

"'Nigger, shu' gets fuh to keep her eye open in dis world,' the big Negress observed. 'But we cain't turn no nigger over tuh de police.' Later Porgy's wife, who had been abominably treated by the young scoundrel who had sold her dope, refused an opportunity to have him punished by the police. 'Ise's a 'ooman grown. Ef I tak dope, dat maun own business. Ef I ebber gets muh han' on dat nigger I goin' fix him so he own mammy ain't know him; but I ain't goin' gib um away tuh de white folks.'" [3]

The concealment reaction here described needs to be constantly kept in mind in its effect

[1] White, Walter F., *Fire in the Flint*, p. 108.
[2] Heyward, Du Bose, *Porgy*, p. 178. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

upon programme and work that requires co-operative fellowship. Later comment from the French psychologist, Janet, will demonstrate how common a mark this is of all neuropathic behaviour, and of its wasteful effect upon the nervous energy of all who encounter it. Its natural resultant is the formation of subtle antipathies. As has been demonstrated, it is one of the most common responses to stimulations to which the Negro is more or less continuously subjected, to which he cannot acquire actual unresponsiveness, and to which direct reaction involves severe disadvantages. There is of course nothing like the literary interpretation of the conduct of the group from among the untouchables of India, nor records of the reactions of their emerging leaders as there is of the behaviour of the Negro. Later descriptive material, will, however, show that this reaction is not lacking in the Indian group.

(3) Indirect Reaction

The use of a curtain of concealment is often combined with a conflict attitude that seems to yield a considerable satisfaction. The element of deceiving and making a fool out of one of the dominant group is one that often helps considerably to satisfy the craving for superiority and the joy of successful conflict. In the *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* his comment about the necessity of concealment of the feel-

ing of resentment reveals the above combination.

"This gives to every coloured man in proportion to his intellectuality, a sort of dual personality; there is one phase of him which is disclosed only in the freemasonry of his own race. I have often watched with interest and sometimes with amazement, even ignorant coloured men, under cover of broad grins and minstrel antics, maintain this dualism in the presence of white men." [1]

Walter White, in his description of the chain gang, shows this compensating concealment at work:

"Occasionally one would stop for a drink of water, brought by a remarkably ragged young Negro who nearly all the time was playing when he was most needed. The thirsty one would dawdle, invent all sorts of ingenious methods of delaying, take as long as he could in assuaging his thirst. If the operation consumed too much time, there would come a warning from one of the guards, ominous, threatening, but shaken off as lightly as the water from the proverbial duck." [2]

The same author, in another book, reveals this attitude at work:

"Just use your eyes and see how Negroes fool white folks all the time. Take, for instance, old Will Hutchinson who works for Mr. Baird. Will cuts all sorts of monkeyshines around Baird, laughs like an idiot, and wheedles old Baird out of anything he's got. Baird gives it to him, and then tells his friend about

[1] *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man.* [2] *Flight,* p. 92.

'his good nigger Will' and boasts that Will is one darky he really knows. Then Will goes home and laughs at the fool he's made of Baird by acting like a fool. . . . And there are Negroes all over the South doing the same thing every day, he ended." [1]

In *Mamba's Daughters* Du Bose Heyward gives a description of a scene that is characteristic and that finds a striking parallel in conduct encountered in the Indian bastis. Grayson, the well-educated Northern Negro with high ideals, had come to work among the Negro village group. His work came into conflict with that of Whaley, the regular coloured preacher, with little education or morals, but with a knowledge of the springs of action in his people and a technique that was adapted to this group. The two preachers are ready to start their services at the same time and make a bid for their audiences. Heyward describes the situation :

"From a comfortable cabin at the end of the village, the heavy form of the Rev. Quintus Whaley lowered itself into the road and proceeded ponderously to the old meeting house. At the same time Thomas Grayson arrived at the door of the new church. Presently the Sunday silence was sent clattering by the rival clamour of the two bells.

"During the last month, the Rev. Quintus had elected openly to ignore the presence of Grayson in the village; in private, however, poking sly fun at his speech and referring to him as 'Dat Yankee

[1] White, Walter, *Fire in the Flint*, p. 130.

nigger.' But now the gauge was fairly cast. There was the new church, and there was no denying that its bell had at least as loud a voice as the old one.

"Presently the Negroes began to leave the cabins and straggle toward the summoning bells. They gathered in little knots midway between the two buildings and discussed the situation. The talk grew in volume and bred excitement. Whaley was by no means a universally popular figure. The men especially distrusted him, and with that play instinct that was so often their undoing, they now recognized in the situation a game of large possibilities. Eyes rolled toward the old meeting house, while the Reverend could be seen through a window, peering hopefully toward them while he tugged away at the bell rope.

"They hung on in the middle of the road deliberately tantalizing, and emitted explosive bursts of frank African laughter, it increased in shrillness as the women became infected by the spirit of the occasion. No one thought of God now and His Gentle Son. Even the devil was a pallid figure in the imagination. *They stood there deliberately baiting the two perspiring divines and having the time of their lives in the doing of it.* They knew what Whaley could give them, and even those who doubted his sincerity had always been proud of his ability to 'slap it to them good and hot.' There was no other preacher for miles around who could kick up such a lather in a sermon or shake the timbers as he could with a spiritual. But across the way hid the lure of the unknown." [1]

Dr. Adler gives a clue to the causes of the unsocial attitude mentioned above. He speaks of the

[1] Heyward, Du Bose, *Mamba's Daughters*, p. 195.

"ideal of superiority found to an exaggerated degree among the nervous."[1]

This, he says, ought to produce

"phenomena whose purpose is the oppression, the minimizing, and the undervaluation of others."[2]

He also tells us that

"The reason for the intolerance of the neurotic toward the constraints of society is the continuous *conflict* attitude that has been *practised for many* years against *the environment*."

In the account given above this behaviour stressed by Adler is clearly in evidence. The exaggerated ideal or craving for superiority, that produces the phenomena whose purpose is the oppression, the minimizing, the undervaluation of others, is clearly pictured in the sentence:

"They hung on in the middle of the road deliberately tantalizing, and emitted explosive bursts of frank African laughter. . . . They stood there deliberately baiting the two perspiring divines and having the time of their lives in the doing of it."[3]

A story paralleling the one above, related to me by a district missionary in North India, a worker among villagers from the depressed classes, is evidently of the same description. He was called to a village to arbitrate between two factions in a dispute over the boundary

[1] *Individual Psychology*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 26. [3] *Ibid.*

of the land given for the village school. Very little value was involved. The dispute, however, continued the whole day with a continual increase of tension. Meanwhile, the missionary was becoming increasingly exasperated as evening came with no prospect of a settlement. Here, too, the groups seemed to be having the time of their lives while they baited the perspiring divine. He, however, was a man of considerable experience in village work and was able to take a hand in the same game. He put the bed on which he was seated on the village manure-pile, in sight of the whole village, and announced to the factions that he intended to sit there until the dispute was settled. They were horrified, and the question was settled within five minutes.

The pattern outlined above is so central to the understanding of behaviour produced by oppression, that it is worth while to follow it further. A few years ago, in one of the city congregations in North India, an effort was being made to raise money for the church budget. The suggestion was made to the trustees, who were men of position in the city, that they try to raise part of the money from the segregated group of about 100 families of Christian sweepers. They were, however, hopeless of the possibility of getting any regular contributions from this group. " Do you know what they will do when we go there to collect? " said one man working in

government service. "Suppose I have on my list Labhu who has promised to pay four annas a month. I go up to a group and ask where I can find Labhu. One man calls out, 'Labhu, where are you? A gentleman has come to see you.' No response, 'Labhu must have gone somewhere.' Labhu, however, was probably one of the group talking to the man who did the calling. When I leave in disgust that joke will be told all through the basti." The trustee knew that incidents of this sort were typical.

Another incident in *Mamba's Daughters* is the story of the old woman from the lowest of the river-front Negroes, who for the sake of the education of her granddaughter, succeeded in raising her social status by getting herself attached to one of the old Charleston families. As guest at a seaside party where Mamba was serving was a judge who had a reputation for dealing out severe sentences to the Negroes who were brought before him for trial. While bathing he had the misfortune to lose his false teeth. Horribly embarrassed when he came ashore, he offered a reward of $5 to anyone who could find his plate. Mamba went into the water but came out in a little while with the announcement that the teeth were not to be found. The judge gave her two dollars for her effort. With this money she went to a neighbouring city, visited a dentist, astonished him by exhibiting a set of false teeth and offering a dollar and a

half if he would fit them to her mouth. He at first refused, but after considerable pressure by Mamba he yielded and fitted the judge's false teeth into her mouth. That night she visited her old associates on the water-front and told the story. The author relates that there was a great slapping of thighs that night as the story of the judge's discomfiture was repeated throughout the Negro quarters.

A scene enacted in the presence of the writer in the sweeper quarters in one of the larger cities of North India seemed to have in it something of the sheer joy of minimizing and undervaluing an opponent. A thrift society had been started among the sweeper women by the Government Inspectress of Co-operative Societies backed up by the missionary ladies. The basti school teacher, a low caste man with one eye, had evidently been told off to help the inspectress when she paid a visit. The payments of the sweeper women were all in arrears and she could do nothing with them. She called in the teacher to help and advise her. While the writer sat listening to the questions, the teacher with a vacant gaze in his one eye gave answers that were as stupid and misleading as possible, which was quite surprising as he was a man of more than average intelligence. At last the inspectress, a cultured Indian woman, closed the book, sighed, and giving up the unequal struggle went out. When she was gone the teacher

turned, winked his good eye, grinned and said, " She is getting paid for doing that work." He showed a considerable amount of satisfaction over the victory in the contest of wits.

The educated Negro, as well as the educated Indian worker among the depressed class groups, has been in a position to realize the extent to which this conduct is encountered among people who have been under domination. Walter F. White, a Negro author, in his book *Flight*, has his heroine, Mimi, say after a rather bitter experience with her own people:

> " Years before she had heard a story which Booker Washington had told in which he likened Negroes to a basket of crabs—when one of them had with great energy climbed almost to the top of the basket, and freedom, the others, less progressive than he, would reach up with their claws and pull him back to their level. This had seemed to her then merely an effective story coined for oratorical purposes, but now its applicability was forced upon her with painful truth." [1]

The same author in another book makes his own comment:

> " Of all the races that make up the heterogeneous populace of America, none is more self-critical than the Negro—its often unjust and carping criticism of those who stand out from the mass serves as an excellent antidote for undue pride and conceit." [2]

It is not hard to see in this mild comment the crystallization of the bitter experience of

[1] White, Walter F., *Flight*, p. 211. [2] *Fire in the Flint*, p. 172.

the writer. His testimony could, however, be easily matched from the experiences of other groups with a background similar to that of the Negro.

It would be interesting to know the experiences of this sort encountered by Booker T. Washington, Moton, and others. Echoes are occasionally met as in the story of how Washington's meeting in the North was broken up by Negro opponents through the use of red pepper. Seligman, in his quotation from the Negro *Messenger*, shows it at work in literary circles:

> " Washington is no more and with him has passed the old me-too-boss, hat-in-hand, good nigger which you and your ilk so dearly love. The radical Negro leaders have the ear and the hands of the masses. The new crowd Negroes think no more of Moton (Major Robert Moton, head of Tuskegee) than they do of you and Cole Blease, and Vardaman! They look upon him as a good nigger puppet. We are also appealing to the manly passions of the Negroes and inspiring them to act on the manly and lawful principle of self-defence in the protection of their homes, their lives, and their property." [1]

Stribling gives a description of the experience of the educated mulatto, Peter Siner, when he goes back to his village for the uplift of his own people. One of the first things that happened to him was the white banker's overreaching him in a land deal. Peter was stunned but,

[1] Seligman, *The Negro Faces America*, p. 293.

" Every other Negro in the village felt the genial satisfaction in a great man's downfall that is balm to small souls." [1]

Peter later obtained work as secretary for the judge, and lived in the judge's home. He is shown his place by the crabbed old Negress who is working as cook:

" Dis is de las' time I fetch a moufful to you, Peter Siner, or any other nigger. You ain't no black Jesus even if you is a wood's calf." [2]

On another occasion

" the crone tossed her malicious head, a little abashed, perhaps, yet very glad that she had succeeded in hurting Peter." [3]

A few years ago in a conference of self-support pastors and workers in the Pasrur District in North India, a district in the centre of the area where there had been a mass movement to Christianity from among the untouchables, the members of the conference were asked to name the character traits found among their people that made their work most difficult. One of the points agreed upon by all the workers was the fact that they all had the fight of their lives, especially at the beginning of their ministry, to keep from getting under the thumbs of their people. Efforts were constantly made to entangle them in shady transactions or to find

[1] Stribling, *Birthright*, p. 67. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 166. [3] *Ibid.*

some way to humiliate them. The exaggerated craving for superiority that resulted in the oppression, the minimizing, and the under-valuing of others was so common among their people that its encounter was a well-defined part of the experience of every one of the workers.

There is as yet nothing like the literary interpretation of the behaviour of India's depressed classes that there is of the Negro in America. This will doubtless come as Nationalist India actually puts its hand to the removal of untouchability. There is, however, no lack of illustrative material of the trait we have been describing. The pastor of a group of Christian sweepers in a frontier city one day, when pressed to give a reason for an attitude of evident depression, related the following experience: He had to collect his own salary from his people. One man who had been a leader of the group instrumental in calling him to the Church had promised to pay a rupee a month toward the pastor's salary. The man was six months in arrears in his payments. He had received a great deal of ministry and service at the time of the death of his wife. "Well, have you come around to take the very skin off our backs?" was the greeting the pastor received, accompanied by a sneer that would do much to break the spirit of anyone. Another time his reception from the same man had been, "Do you never think of anything but your belly?" This kind

of experience was common enough to doubtless produce the same judgment that Walter White pronounced on the Negro group—" no race in America is more self-critical than the Negro—its often unjust and carping criticism of those who stand out from the mass serves as an excellent antidote for undue pride and conceit." An Indian school teacher, on hearing of the above experience, told of a report that had been given to him by a village pastor in Lahore district. His parishioners in one village had composed a jingle of two lines that they began singing when he came into the village for his collections. Translated freely it was " the old ass comes braying every other day, the old ass comes braying every other day."

One of the commonplace experiences of the new missionary who begins the work of supervising a group of churches composed of members of the depressed classes is to have poured into his ears complaints about the way the pastors neglect their duty. In most cases the complaint is without foundation, but is made in such a plausible fashion that the inexperienced missionary will invariably take their side.

The kind of behaviour described in this chapter is part of an extremely widespread and commonplace pattern, a pattern by no means racial or national. A doctor in charge of the Leper Asylum in North India described behaviour among the inmates of an identical sort. A study

of the experience of the Children of Israel in their dealings with Moses on the way out of Egypt will reveal a like situation and relationship with what has been here described. The story of Moses slaying the Egyptian oppressor and flying for his life when next day he discovered that his act was known to others of the Israelites is easily understood when we remember the condition of enslavement of Israel and the position Moses held. "Wilt thou slay me as thou didst slay the Egyptian," was doubtless hurled at him with a great deal of malicious satisfaction that the big man was now in the power of the slaves. Moses wisely wasted no time in getting into the desert to save his life. Nor is his forty years of delay and his hesitation in placing himself at the head of the people hard to explain. It has been more than a coincidence that both among the Negroes in the South and the Christian sweepers of North India there has been recognition of their likeness to Israel in bondage and on the way out.

The conflict attitude, the craving for superiority that finds expression in the minimizing and undervaluation of others, in a milder form than has been here described, can be traced as an almost universal reaction. An experienced missionary when told of the testimony of the pastors heretofore mentioned broke in with the exclamation, "There's nothing strange in that. In our country school when I was a boy every

new teacher that came into the school was up against the same kind of an experience. We did our best to pull him down and get him under our thumbs." This reaction is evoked to a greater or less extent by anyone who comes into our orbit in a position or with an attitude of superiority. The inexperienced young man or woman essaying his first attempt at the teaching of a Sunday school class in a slum district has a struggle as difficult to meet and as hard to understand as was that of the village pastor. The city bred minister of a country church who, in the days of the horse and buggy, found his parishioners, in a state of keen enjoyment, congregated at the back of the church examining the knot with which he had tied his horse to a tree; the trite hero of the western novel, the Home Mission worker in the mining or lumber camp, who had to win a place of influence with his fists, encountered the same behaviour pattern as did the Punjab village pastors and the Rev. Mr. Grayson.

CHAPTER IV

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISCUSSION OF OBSERVED BEHAVIOUR AND EXPLANATION OF CAUSES

INTERPRETATION of the behaviour so far given has been made somewhat difficult by the controversies in the field of psychology between behaviourists and psychoanalysts and in the field of sociology and social psychology by the desuetude of the instincts. The conception which for a time held the field in social psychology of a complete instinct accompanied by its clear-cut emotional charge to set it off, as the basis for practically every human action was without doubt an oversimplification of the problems of human conduct. In its place, however, attitudes, values, wishes, prepotent reflexes, desires and instinctive behaviour tend to increase confusion as well as to stimulate further research to enable scientists to reach agreement in definition of basic concepts. The daring hypotheses of Freud and Adler in the explanation of abnormal behaviour have furnished psychopathology with some of its most efficient equipment, along with a set of apparently mythological conceptions that cause thoroughgoing behaviourists to gnash their teeth. Psychology has suffered from emotionally intolerant attitudes of cultists

who have been unwilling to (properly) evaluate and accredit the findings of the other camps. There is plenty of evidence from a study of the fifty-seven varieties of psychology to-day to show that the devil of intolerance that is being cast out of the religious denominations is seeking to make his abode in the psychologists. Much of this has been due to the need of psychopathologists in their difficult fields for the technique and method that was opened up by the psychoanalytic concepts. The dilemma has been well stated by one of the minority group of objective psychopathologists who seeks to make use of the behaviouristic method and approach:

" Until Freud proclaimed the importance of unconsciously held desires, and proposed methods for their disclosure, we psychopathologists were a futile lot, and almost wholly unresponsive to the broad hints offered us by folk-lore and the Shakespeares, Goethes, and Brownings of the world. Psychologists were equally futile. From Aristotle to Wundt and Titchener they failed to see that somehow we must make behaviour and the individual's reports of his mentation disclose their endogenous as well as their exogenous determination. Long before Freud had made his truly great discovery scientists had found it profitable to assume that rocks and bits of living tissue, with their presently sensible qualities could be regarded as historic records of their own determination. It is probable that Freud pursued the only course that could have so quickly and definitely brought us to a realization of the value of applying the methods of geology and biology to the problems of human behaviour. He sensed that the individual acts, thoughts,

feelings, dreams, etc., may be read as geologists read rocks, viz., as records of their own determinations, and he had the courage not only to engage in boldly imaginative constructions in the reading of them, but to proclaim what seemed probable to him as scientifically established findings. If Freud had given physiologic rather than mystically psychologic values to the non-conscious, endogenous determinants of behaviour and mentation, he would have spared us the necessity of extricating ourselves—as sooner or later we must—from a quagmire of mysticism and allegory ; but if he had been possessed of the scientific temperament, we should have been denied the benefit of his constructive imaginations." [1]

Freud's contribution in the emphasis upon repression of sex urges as the cause of the distorted behaviour of nervous exhaustion and hysteria has helped suggest the danger of over-repression and unskilful handling of any basic human urge.

Hamilton comments also on the contribution by Dr. Alfred Adler :

" Psychoanalysis has made popular a phrase which has some significance for almost everybody who hears it. It is the inferiority complex which so caught the fancy of literary opportunists a few years ago." [2]

Dr. Adler's work has not been second to that of Freud in awakening the enthusiasm of his disciples. In the translator's preface to a later work of Dr. Adler we have this description of the significance of his work :

[1] Hamilton, G. V., *Objective Psychopathology,* p. 237.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

"The origins of Individual Psychology lie in chapters on organ and constitutional pathology which are among the most abstruse in all medicine. Very few are qualified to read and understand Adler's first epochmaking *Studie Die Minderwertigkeit von Organan.* Yet in the fifteen years which have followed the publication of this work, Alfred Adler and his fellow-students have experimented ceaselessly along the lines suggested in this book, so that to-day Individual Psychology has become a separate science, a psychotherapeutic method, a system of characterology, at one and the same time a Weltanshauung and an approach to the understanding of human conduct." [1]

In this book, published in 1927, Dr. Adler himself indicates an extension of his original idea of organ inferiority as the basis of abnormal behaviour, to include inferiority caused by environmental oppression :

"One can state as a fundamental law that children who come into the world with organ inferiorities become involved at an early age in a bitter struggle for existence which results only too often in the strangulation of their social feelings. Instead of interesting themselves in an adjustment to their fellows, they are continually preoccupied with themselves and with the impression they make on others. *What holds good for an organic inferiority is as valid for any social or economic burden which might manifest itself as valid for an additional load, capable of producing a hostile attitude toward the world.* Such children frequently have a sentiment as early as their second year of life, that they are somehow not as adequately equipped for the

[1] Preface by N. Beran Wolfe, M.D., Adler, A., *Understanding Human Nature.*

struggle as their playmates ; they sense that they dare not trust themselves to the common games and pastimes."[1]

Further on he tells us, " It is the feeling of inferiority, inadequacy, insecurity which determines the goal of an individual's existence " :[2]

" The striving for power and dominance may become so exaggerated and intensified that it must be called pathological. When this occurs the ordinary relationships of life will never be satisfactory. The movements in these cases are apt to have a certain grandiose gesture about them. When we are dealing with a pathological power drive we find individuals who seek to secure their position in life with extraordinary efforts, with greater haste and impatience, with more violent impulses and without consideration of anyone else."[3]

" Little by little, too, other characteristics will appear which, if we consider total human relationships, will assume an increasingly antisocial colour. In the forefront of these manifestations are pride, vanity, and the desire to conquer anyone at any price, the latter may be subtly accomplished by the relative elevation of the individual, or by his deprecation of all those with whom he comes in contact."[4]

Dr. Adler's work in the field of creative imagination in furnishing the goal of power and the urge to superiority as the driving motive of life has been as significant, as stimulating, and as suggestive as has been that of Freud. What has been brought to attention is that the power drive,

[1] Adler, A., *Understanding Human Nature*, p. 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 73. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

the craving for superiority is (at least) as universal and as significant as the sex urge, and as fruitful a factor in pathological behaviour. A summary of the widely accepted position on this point is given in a book published by a psychologist and a psychiatrist from the Yale Institute of Human Relations:

"It seems to us that the craving for superiority or for a feeling of superiority is practically universal in human beings both normal and abnormal, but that it differs widely in various individuals both in degree of emphasis and in the extent to which it modifies behaviour. Its satisfaction may appear in a great variety of forms, from distinguished achievements in politics, finance, science, engineering, and administration, to delusions of grandeur; from exhibitionism of various orders to social reform, from religious mysticism into a world of fantasy; from crime to social service."[1]

The value of an overemphasis upon the importance of a single urge as a determinant of behaviour has been hinted at in Hamilton's appraisal of the Freudian contribution to psychopathology. The same statement might be made of the point of view of the Individual Psychological School of Adler. Both have called forth the damning appellations of pseudo-science and mysticism by psychologists with a strictly objective point of view. The widespread publicity and the amount of emotional opposition

[1] Dodge and Kahn, *Craving for Superiority*, VI (quoted with permission of the publishers).

elicited are at once indications of the importance of their points of view, and of the certainty of a sufficient criticism to prune away their excrescences and preserve their vital contributions to the field of human behaviour.

Dr. Watson, the dean of behaviouristic psychology, has found in new-born babes three basic emotional reactions, those of fear, of love, and of rage. Hysteria has been linked up by Freudianism to love, one of the three basic human emotional reactions. Before the war psychoanalysts were inclined to connect hysterical behaviour exclusively with repressed sexual stimuli, which stimuli they held to be practically synonymous with the love life.[1] The study of the war neuroses, however, showed the extent to which indirect reactions of hysteria were caused by fear,

[1] "The foregoing discussion defends the thesis that indirect reactions are elicited by stimuli, direct reaction to which has been inhibited. What kinds of stimuli are apt to elicit indirect responsiveness? Before the war the psychoanalysts were very positive that sexual stimuli—of endogenous or combined endogenous and exogenous origin—were exclusively capable of eliciting hysterical and most overt indirect reactions. I now recall with amusement how two prominent American psychoanalysts literally cursed me in their angry impatience with my suggestion that other than sexual stimuli might result in what Meyer had aptly designated 'substitution reactions.' Salmon's studies of the war neuroses showed that conjointly acting exogenous and endogenous stimuli which primarily incite purely self-maintaining activities of the self-protective and ameliorative types may fail of expression in direct responsiveness and lead to seriously morbid habits of indirect reaction. This is now so universally conceded that it needs no further defence." Hamilton, G. V., *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 282.

particularly repressed fear. Inferiority, with all its hysterical manifestations, will doubtless find its connection with repressed rage, the third of Watson's basic reactions. This rage was produced in infants by the confining and cramping of their bodily movements. This early reaction to forces tending to hinder incipient self-expression underlies as a basic pattern much subtle and complex behaviour in the developing human life. It is the connection between repressed rage and resentment and the abnormal hysterical behaviour described in Chapter III, that seems to be indicated in the description of Negro and Depressed Class reactions.

Psychiatry, Sociology, and Education are to a rapidly increasing extent basing their technique upon the basis of the importance of a chronic feeling of inferiority as a background of abnormal behaviour. In the field of juvenile delinquency inferiority feelings produced by divorce and other abnormal home situations and by difficult adjustments of children from immigrant homes are listed as leading causes of unsocial behaviour. The work of Dr. Healy in particular has called attention to this phase. In the field of education, due to a large extent to the lead given by Dr. Adler and his colleagues in the schools of Vienna, leaders are realizing the damage to personality due to inferiority feelings generated or accentuated by failure to achieve promotion or by scolding and bullying teachers.

Psychiatrists with the behaviouristic point of view are fairly rare. The cautious admission of the probable importance of indirect reactions to inferiority feelings by one of them is therefore fairly significant:

"A large volume might be devoted to this one phase of the problem contained in maladjustments to inferiority. But I believe that in spite of the vast amount of clinical material that such a volume could adduce, it could offer very few dependable interpretations of actual facts of observation.... Behaviourism has little to offer by way of facts and interpretations for the psychopathologist's orientation to these problems.... Inability to obtain satisfaction of a major craving because of personal incapacity, seems to have been the most important determinant of functional inferiority and of reactions thereto in my patients." [1]

[1] "Kempf's observations and interpretations are those of a psychiatrist, and are therefore largely based upon studies of a class of patients whose adjustments to the fear of the consequences of inferiority are apt to be extreme and eccentric. My own views of the matter have been determined by comparative studies of mammalian adjustments to inferiority, including those of the nervous patient. Kempf does not refer to the submissive types of maladjustment to inferiority (or the fear of its consequences), but in my clinical work I have found these to be fairly common and of considerable importance. Twenty-seven of the 200 patients of the survey disclosed definitely pathogenic maladjustments to inferiority and twenty-four of these were found to be reacting submissively to this factor.

Behaviouristic research gives support to Kempf's view, I believe, that functional inferiorities as well as the organic inferiorities to which Adler calls attention, may lead to serious maladjustments. (Adler, himself, in his later writings accepted this view as noted earlier in this chapter.) Field and some roughly experimental observations of cattle, horses, swine, cats, dogs, and monkeys have shown me that an organically sound individual

These cautious observations of Hamilton would also seem to indicate that the urge for prestige and expression and the " craving for superiority " are parts of a basic human urge which when unduly checked results in inferiority reactions. *It is the point of view of this thesis that the craving for self-expression and superiority is such a basic biological urge, a major craving, as necessary in the struggle for existence as is the sex urge and the urge for self-preservation. When blocked its natural result is a manifestation of the emotion of rage and anger. Open expression of these emotional reactions are usually inexpedient and bring results inimical to personal welfare.* Under these circumstances there comes into play the tendency for any mammalian to acquire apparent unrespon-

who is physically well-equipped to hold his own may become a voluntary outlaw from the herd or band in response to a purely functional inferiority. A decisive defeat in combat during adolescence may have led the future outlaw to react submissively to all further aggressions, even on the part of the youngest and weakest of its fellows, until it has come to react to the mere proximity of any of its kind as to a menace. In these cases I have found it interesting to force the outlaw to react other than submissively by confining it with an aggressive fellow. If care were taken to choose a physically less well endowed combatant, the outlaws' initially defensive kicks or bites would lead to more positive aggressions on his part until he became the one who could exact submission. With some care the herd outlaw could thus be cured of his functional inferiority and in some cases even become the herd bully. The tendency of the monkey to compensate for inferiority by ' bluffing ' renders him an especially valuable subject for experimental studies of inferiority reactions of both the submissive and compensatory types, but I have found that cattle and horses are also of value for this purpose." Hamilton, G. V., *Objective Psychopathology*, pp. 293-294.

siveness to any stimulus, direct responsiveness to which is inimical to his welfare:

"(The mammalian tends to acquire apparent unresponsiveness to any stimulus, direct responsiveness to which is inimical to his welfare.) He may respond to such stimulus indirectly in some cases, and in other cases one can find no evidence of any kind of responsiveness to the stimulus whatsoever. My own observations lead me to suspect that this general tendency may result in either approximately total unresponsiveness or indirect responsiveness according to circumstances which will be discussed farther on."[1]

This apparent unresponsiveness or the indirect response may take any one of three directions. It may result in (*a*) normal inhibition, which will allow the effect of the stimulus to pass off without disturbing the personality. It may (*b*) lie in an abnormal effort of inhibition which may eliminate all apparent responsiveness of the organism but result in undue strain and fatigue in the inhibiting function causing various forms of neurasthenia or nervous exhaustion, or (*c*) it may result in an inhibition that will cause indirect responsiveness to the stimulus, or the "substitution reactions" of the various degrees of hysteria. Any one of these three directions of apparent unresponsiveness may bring about organic disturbances of greater or less severity.[2]

[1] Hamilton, G. V., *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 275.

[2] "It is a traditional assumption that the nervous patient's habitual modes of responding to various baffling disadvantages which enter into his life are important determinants of his

The two types of reaction listed under (*a*) and (*b*) are well illustrated by the quotation from the *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* before mentioned :

" In fact it may be said that the majority of intelligent coloured people, are, in some degree, too much in earnest over the race question. They assume and carry so much that their progress is at times impeded, and they are unable to see things in their proper proportions. . . . Anyone who marks the general tone of editorials in coloured newspapers is apt to be impressed with this idea. If the mass of Negroes took their present and future as seriously as did most of their leaders, the race would be in no mental condition to sustain the terrible pressure which it undergoes ; it would sink of its own weight." [1]

This paragraph shows the mass of Negroes more or less normally inhibiting the natural expression of rage and resentment against the suggestion of inferiority, while the intelligent group react so strongly that they are likely to break mentally under the social pressure that makes inhibition necessary. This type of pressure is fairly obvious,

nervousness ; common sense interpretations of experience ascribe the inner tension, morning lassitude, easy fatiguability, nervous headaches, and insufficiencies of gastro-intestinal function to maladjustive responses to such disadvantages. These non-scientific explanations of nervousness and of its somatic consequences are more or less consistent with even the most conservative scientific opinions as to the possibility of autonomic interference with the vegetative functions during moments when the organism must concentrate all of its adjustive forces to overcome externally arising disadvantages." Hamilton, G, V., *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 249.

[1] *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, p. 179.

but reference to a former quotation will again be not out of place. This is the remark of the Rev. Mr. Wilson in Walter White's story:

> " 'And there's another reason' (for an educated Negro to speak in imperfect English and use the Negro dialect), continued the Rev. Mr. Wilson, 'the white folks here are mighty suspicious of any Negro who has too much learning according to their standards. . . . So I decided that I'd smile and bear it and be what the white folks think they want . . . what the coloured folks call a "white man's nigger." '
>
> "With his deliberately imperfect English had gone from the preacher's face the subservient smile." [1]

Here we have cases of more or less concealed responses to stimuli, direct responses to which would be inimical to the welfare of the persons concerned. The footnote of Dr. Hamilton suggests that organic disturbances are often caused by this type of repression. It tends also to an increasing extent to produce the (*c*) type of response, i.e. the substitution reactions of hysteria. This tendency is expressed by Hamilton in a formulation of Freud's most important finding in psychopathology. That is

> "Whenever an organism is unable to acquire relatively complete unresponsiveness to a stimulus, direct responsiveness to which is disadvantageous, it tends to react indirectly and usually dysteleologically (i.e. in a manner abnormal and without apparent purpose) to the stimulus." [2]

[1] White, Walter F., *Fire in the Flint*, p. 108.
[2] Hamilton, *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 275.

It is these abnormal and superficially useless and purposeless reactions that we have been describing in previous chapters and that must be reckoned with in missionary work and policy.

In the conditions under which the Southern Negro or the members of the depressed classes in India labour, direct response to the oppression under which they live would take the direction of rage and angry resentment. An affectively reinforced instinctive mode of this response would lead him to stand up bravely and frankly fight for his rights and his manhood. Something of this sort was done by the American Indian in his contact with the dominant white, with the result that he was almost exterminated. There is arising an increasingly large number of leaders from both emerging groups who are taking this attitude. For the greater number this method has been impracticable because its results are too painful. The necessity of continually exercising repression lest these direct reactions to stimulations that are constantly present come to the surface must eventually produce some kind of a rational reaction or result in nervousness.[1]

The direct manifestation of rage against the stigma of inferiority and oppressive environment, as has been noted, is found among the Negroes but

[1] "When a disadvantage is of a kind to act over longer periods of time and is too subtle to be met by affectively reinforced instinctive modes of response, there must be developed a habit of reacting rationally thereto if the individual is to escape nervousness." Hamilton, *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 257.

to a comparatively small extent. The same has been true, according to my observation, among the depressed classes of India. A significant statement at this point was the report made by a district missionary that the police records in his district show an increase in major crimes, including murder, among the depressed classes since they have embraced Christianity. That self-assertion and a conflict attitude are increasingly evident in these groups is a matter of common missionary experience. There are indications also to show that these reactions are not lacking in the experience of workers in the Indian Nationalist programme for the removal of untouchability. These results seem to indicate that an emerging group will tend to show an increasing amount of direct reaction against their disadvantages. Attention has been drawn to this manifestation among the Jews and the Negroes by an author in the *Christian Century*.[1] As has been noted before, however, this reaction is feasible only for a small minority of the groups.

The alternatives to this direct expression are, according to Hamilton,

> "a rational reaction if the individual is to escape nervousness."[2]

One rational reaction made is to face the situation and accept the *status quo* and make the best of it.

[1] Scotford, John R., "How the Negro came by His Traits," *Century*, June, 1931.

[2] Hamilton, G. V., *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 257.

This would produce the approximately total unresponsiveness to the stimulus of oppression which would indicate a normal inhibition that will allow the effect of the stimulus to pass off without disturbing the personality. According to Roback [1] "inhibition is the 'warp and woof of character'" which would indicate that the person making this kind of an adjustment may be potentially a highly efficient personality. Hamilton's observation that there is often total unresponsiveness to the oppression and the suggestion of inferiority it involves is in line with the popular idea about contented and satisfied sweepers and Negroes in slavery. It seems to be contradicted by Moton's statement that

> "Even in slavery the Negro took great pains to conceal his resentment and his longings. To-day Negroes, young and old, resent the assertion that they were contented as slaves, which is prima facie evidence, they could say, that the person so declaring does not know them." [2]

It will be exceedingly difficult to discover how much the apparent unresponsiveness to the stigma of inferiority is due to an acquiescence in the *status quo* and to a successful adjustment, and how much is due to the successful concealment of his resentment and longings of which Moton speaks. The phenomena of mass movements from the depressed classes in India and Korea toward

[1] Roback, A. A., *Psychology of Character*, p. 460.
[2] Moton, R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 9.

Christianity, of the Children of Israel out of Egypt and of the Negro migration to the North in the United States would indicate the correctness of Moton's view that great masses conceal their longings in slavery. Those who have become adjusted completely and who have contentedly accepted the inferior status, while escaping from painful conflict and distorted behaviour, are hopeless material from the point of view of change and progress. The groups that have come into the Christian Church have, however, made a change and a reaction against their status which would indicate that they belong to Moton's classification.

Apart from the direct reaction of rage and resentment, and the production of a rational submissive adjustment, there remain the adjustments that produce nervousness. This nervousness may be the fatigue brought about by excessive inhibition and secrecy which results in the various degrees of neurasthenia or nervous exhaustion, or it may be the indirect reaction of hysteria. These will be encountered and are encountered among the oppressed groups in every degree of intensity. Two of the most common marks of the nervous exhaustion of neurasthenia are lying or concealment and an intense selfishness. Both of these grow out of the state of depression which is the first stage of mental and emotional exhaustion. Janet tells us that

"A very simple way of *eluding activity* is by lying. That is why lying makes its appearance as soon as

depression gets beyond the first degree, that of sadness, to reach the second degree, that of lethargy. It becomes habitual and takes the form of mania for lying when the depression grows more or less chronic." [1]

The extent of this reaction of concealment to the feelings of inferiority and its resultant depression is difficult to measure. If there is complete submission and unresponsiveness, then there would be no need of concealment of resentment and there should be complete frankness. Looking at the question from this angle it is more probable that Moton is right and that the longings and resentments are never completely eliminated. That the concealment reaction in these groups is extremely common if not universal would perhaps be denied by no one. It would range from all degrees of reticence and tact and diplomacy to a pathological inability to tell the truth.

The indirect responses that are found are many and varied. The most common is that of establishing a pseudo-superiority by lowering and disparaging rivals or apparent superiors. This is a borderline hysterical reaction, coming between the direct response of resentment and the apparent unresponsiveness of submission. It is a partially rational reaction found extensively in emerging groups. It is much more common in groups of Christians of depressed class origin and among the modern Negroes in the North than it is among the

[1] Janet, Pierre, *Psychological Healing*, p. 502.

original depressed classes or the Negroes in the South before the war. From the point of view of the progress of the individual it is a more hopeful phase than is the submissive reaction. There is here evident a striving for superiority that, we will find later, may be diverted into a channel of social usefulness, which is one of the steps in producing a cure.[1] A reference again to the third part of Chapter III will indicate how common are these indirect hysterical reactions and the varying degrees of intensity with which they are encountered.

Social Contagion of Nervous Behaviour

Most of the psychological material here quoted has been taken from the psychiatrist's record of treatment of individuals. The study of the behaviour of the Negroes and the depressed classes groups have been studies of widespread group phenomena. We are again indebted to Janet for his suggestion of the analogy of contagion in the spread of nervous reactions. He suggests that clinical phenomena that has long attracted attention has been the fact that not only is the neuropath

[1] "Although the efforts to lower a rival play a notable part in jealousy they do not constitute the more important part of the neuropath's behaviour. The hindering of other's action, the lowering of others demand a struggle,—necessitates efforts which are fairly difficult. . . . The psychasthenic lacks courage for a frontal attack. In most cases he is content to lower them in the estimation of onlookers, and in his own estimation by fighting them with his tongue when they are absent." Janet, P., *Psychological Healing*, p. 534.

found as a member of the neuropathic family but also a member of a neuropathic group :

> " The best way to bring home to ourselves the complexity of behaviour incumbent upon the associate of a psychasthenic is to picture our attitude when in company with a liar and humbug. An individual whom we know to be capable of lying, one whom we suspect, requires from us a complicated method of procedure ; we have to listen to him and at the same time to resist the natural tendency to believe what he is saying, and must withstand being suggestioned by his words ; we have to believe something different from what he is saying. Hence our behaviour becomes extremely intricate. Well not only does the neuropath constantly lie, but his whole conduct is really the embodiment of falsehood." [1]

Much of this applies not only to the chronic liar but to the hysterical person who would elevate his own ego by subtly making a fool of his associates.

A large part of the daily conduct within the groups and in the segregated communities has to be conducted on this basis. The effect of this conduct upon all who come in constant contact with it constitutes a strain that is a fruitful source of further mental depression. While there is a bright side to the picture in that those making successful adjustments for living in these groups have a valuable technique for social efficiency, many individuals break under the strain :

> " We have learnt in the foregoing chapters that circumstances that make life difficult, complicated

[1] Janet, P., *Psychological Healing*, p. 553.

types of behaviour, and the fatigue brought on by sustained effort, are frequent causes of mental depression. Our analysis of the characteristics displayed by the psychasthenic in social life, and the study of the complicated reactions demanded from such a person's associates have told us that those who live with these patients find life difficult, fatiguing, and costly. Are we not entitled to infer that a good many of the cases of depression observed among the associates of a psychasthenic are the direct outcome of this social fatigue?"[1]

In the following chapter, in our description of the Indian village or basti teacher, preacher, or social worker, we have analysed outside forces acting upon him that increase the strain under which he works. As we recognize these forces it is necessary to remember that his greatest handicap comes from living in the midst of a group of nervously depressed and often hysterical people. Living with associates with the complicated types of behaviour already described, and referred to again in Janet's paragraph, tasks severely his spiritual and mental resources. We are now prepared to see something of the difficulty of the adjustment of a foreign mission programme to this delicate and complicated situation.

The foregoing analysis raises many questions vital to the whole Mission enterprise in India. Is it possible to produce leaders and executives of ability from these groups? Why have they so far not emerged to any great extent? How far

[1] Janet, P., *Psychological Healing*, p. 564.

is docility in workers and satisfaction with conditions to be encouraged in Indian leaders? Can a mass religious education programme reach a situation that is beyond the scope of mere mental hygiene and psychiatry? Does a white mission organization, while safeguarding foreign funds and missionary authority, defeat its own vital purpose? What programme and policy will accelerate the removal of untouchability with all that it implies, and release the constructive forces necessary for a more abundant life?

An attempt will be made to shed light on these questions from the point of view of the psychological factors involved, and from a project of work covering fifteen years of fellowship in a branch of the North India Church.

CHAPTER V

INFERIORITY REACTIONS AND THE INDIAN WORKER

ONE of the outstanding complaints and disappointments in Mission work and in mass movement areas has been that of the inefficiency of the workers and pastors, and of the failure in production of strong leaders from among the emerging community, capable of replacing the expensive foreign supervisor in the district mass movement work. This failure has been so marked that it has led to widespread doubt among missionary leaders of the value of the human stuff with which they have had to deal. There has been a tendency to disparage the low caste man and to doubt his ability to make good in the higher executive field of work. This statement would probably stand, in spite of the many fine and notable exceptions that may be found to this attitude in all parts of the field. Probably no one on the field feels that there has been an efficiency of achievement in the development of leadership and personality that would indicate a high degree of effectiveness in the use of the money invested. There are, however, three great handicaps under which these men have laboured that go far to sap their efficiency, and whose removal is a problem of vital

importance to Mission work and policy. These are (1) The necessity of accommodating himself to the missionary supervision under which he labours, (2) his close contacts and co-operation with a psychically abnormal group, (3) the suggestion of his own inferiority constantly conveyed by the dominating position of the European missionary and the Mission. The first of these handicaps is the extent to which he is subject to fear and to the process of accommodation to the missionary supervision under which he labours.

In presenting the data on the *concealment reaction,* much more was given from the point of view of the Negro than from that of the emergent groups of Indian Christian leaders of depressed class origin. One reason for this has been the greater economic security of many of the Negro and Mulatto leaders, particularly in the North, where they have been in a position to speak out and indicate the extent of this process. In India the greater part of educated Indians from this group are in the service of the Foreign Mission or of the Church which is still under a degree of direct or indirect financial domination that makes plain speaking and criticism difficult and its consequences painful. As a result there is a degree of apparent unresponsiveness to the stimulus of oppression, direct responsiveness to which would be inimical to his welfare, or a greater degree of submissive reaction. One experienced district missionary told of a conversation with one of the

older of the leading Indian workers in his district. The old man said that not long before a group of workers were together and were discussing their grievances and disadvantages. At the conclusion of the discussion all were agreed that there were certain outstanding grievances that ought to be presented to the Mission. A further unanimous conclusion was that " the man who presented the grievances had first ' better have his trunk packed.' " None of them therefore reached the ears of the missionaries. There can be very little question on the part of experienced workers in the field that Moton's statement is applicable to these Indian workers:

> " Much of what is regarded as racially characteristic of the Negro is nothing more than the artful and adroit accommodation of his manners and methods to what he knows to be the weakness and foibles of his white neighbour. Knowing what is expected of him and knowing too what he himself wants, the Negro craftily uses his knowledge to anticipate opposition and to eliminate friction in securing his desires. . . . Certain it is that such knowledge (of the white man) has served the race in good stead in its contact with the white man. If it be true as claimed that the black man is the only type that had survived in its contact with the white race, the success of the achievement must be attributed in no small part to the fact that he ' knows the white man.' " [1]

In view of Janet's findings on neuropathic contagion the effect of such a situation on the Indian

[1] Moton, *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 27.

worker, on the missionary dealing with him, and on their spiritual co-operation is at once apparent.

It, of course, would be a gross exaggeration to attribute this habit of concealment entirely to the oppression of the Mission or the missionary in his relations with the Indian workers. Much of the attitude of concealment is the social heritage of the depressed class quarters in which he lives or among whose inhabitants his parents laboured. The dominant position of the Mission or the white missionary is, however, a factor that tends to continue these old attitudes that are a part of the daily practice of the basti. An additional factor in the behaviour of the leaders now need be noted.

In the face of these attitudes and tendencies toward concealment he is given a new set of values that makes the forced adoption of this concealment reaction exceedingly painful. Many of the workers are now the sons and grandsons of the men who were the first fruit of the mass movement. At first there were no particular scruples or taboo connected with the reaction of deceit and concealment. As was indicated in the description of the conflict attitudes there was a certain degree of satisfaction of achievement connected with successful deceit. Among these first groups, to indicate that a man was lying successfully was often to pay him a compliment. The boy brought up in a Christian home and educated in a Mission boarding school has, however, a new set of values.

Lying and deceit are unsocial and he reacts against them. As a boy he had been witness of the subterfuges his father had to practise and he has become ashamed of them. Now to be forced to adopt much of the same kind of conduct to hold the only job possible with his new status sets up a painful conflict. The result is an expenditure of nervous energy that produces the results mentioned by Hamilton :

" It is a traditional assumption that the nervous patient's habitual modes of responding to various baffling disadvantages which enter into his life are important determinants which enter into his nervousness. Common sense interpretations of experience describe the inner lassitude, easy fatiguability, nervous headaches and insufficiencies of gastro-intestinal functions to maladjustive responses to such disadvantages. These non-scientific explanations of nervousness and of its somatic consequences are more or less consistent with even the most conservative scientific opinions as to the possibility of autonomic interference with the vegetative functions during moments when the organism must concentrate all of its adjustive forces to overcome externally arising disadvantages." [1]

" This concentration of all the adjustive forces to overcome externally arising disadvantages " is, of course, a selfish concentration that leaves very little energy for the solution of the social problems of others. The amount of nervous energy used in these conflicts and inhibitions reduces tremendously the social value of the worker who finds

[1] Hamilton, G. V., *Objective Psychopathology*, p. 249.

them forced upon him. It is worth noting here the relation between nervous fatigue and disease, and selfishness. McCurdy says that,

"In a word we may say that orderly thinking is affected whenever there tends to a pre-occupation with thoughts of highly personal interests." [1]

There is both cause and effect described here in the relation between selfishness and disorder to the thinking. Groves tells us that,

"The most striking social expression of the neurosis is its usual intense selfishness. Du Bois Sidis, after a long study of the psychopathic patient, declares that the one outstanding, characteristic symptom of the psychopath is his extreme selfishness. There is no greater egotism, he affirms, than that of the individual suffering from psychopathic disorders. His attention is ever upon himself. He is ready at any time to sacrifice his best friend or dearest relative, if as a result he can add to his comfort or pleasure. The fate of a nation means nothing in comparison to personal satisfaction. Every unit is measured by its value to the egoism of the patient. All other considerations are ignored, if in any way health or personal interest may be advanced. His mind is always occupied with his own purposes and desires, for every psychopath is essentially egoistic." [2]

It is easy to see how this characteristically selfish attitude would be fatal to the effectiveness of a social worker. With so little nervous energy available it is not difficult to understand how an

[1] McCurdy, J. T., *The Psychology of Emotion*, p. 239.

[2] Grove, Ernest, *Personality and Social Adjustment*, p. 172.

adjustment would be made that would call for the least possible expenditure in the work in order to allow for sufficient mental energy to handle the all-important project of holding his job. Before the worker can become as effective as he should, conditions that force him to concentrate his forces to overcome externally arising disadvantages, will have to be removed.

Another drain on his nervous energy comes from the close contact with the abnormal groups with whom he must work. One missionary reports his workers telling him that at times "they think their heads will be split," with the problems that are forced upon them by the people they are trying to serve. This is in accord with Janet's observation that,

> "In spite of all seeming, this complex behaviour provoked by the neuropath and forced upon all who come in contact with him, leads invariably to the same results, it is very exhausting to the patients' associates, and upon them likewise entails a great expenditure of energy." [1]
>
> "Neuropaths are in the extremest sense of the term 'expensive persons.' Also by the irony of fate, they are often surrounded by individuals whose psychic tension is easily lowered. Such persons soon suffer from the effects of the complex and exhausting behaviour demanded of them, and they soon harbour special kinds of sentiments toward the patient, these sentiments being the expression of a *profound and subtle antipathy*." [2]

[1] Janet, P., *Psychological Healing*, p. 554. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 556.

Note.—" A large amount of testimony could be adduced of this antipathy to the depressed classes from British Cantonment Officers and other regimental officers whose duties involve supervision of the sweeper."

It will not be difficult to see how these tendencies would operate as we recall some of the stories mentioned earlier. The worker struggling to establish his own self-respect and his new sense of values would find them undergoing a terrific strain in his contact with the emerging villagers anxious to assert in some way their own superiority. The inner struggle of the pastor, who found himself in the power of his parishioners as they sang " the old ass comes braying every other day," and who had to win their co-operation, is not hard to imagine. He, too, encounters the authoritarianism of his depressed groups who desire to exercise authority in the one place where it seems possible. He also is largely unaware of what makes them act that way. He is in the position described by Janet :

" We are apt to regard this testimony as an indication of a malicious temperament and an aggressive disposition. The judgment is not wholly accurate. The type of behaviour we are considering must be regarded as mainly the expression of an urge to lower others, to reduce others to one's own level or, better still, to a lower level than one's own. Substantially it is an important symptom of psychasthenic depression." [1]

There is no doubt that in estimating the effectiveness and the ability of the workers and pastors

[1] Janet, P., *Psychological Healing*, p. 534.

among the mass movement groups the assertion of Janet is eminently fair :

> " People do not make sufficient allowance for the way in which one person may affect the psychological tension of another, or the serious extent to which one person's doings may lower the tension of another, thus producing a real crisis of psycholepsy." [1]

The growth of the feeling of profound and subtle antipathy toward his people that has been mentioned by Janet is particularly destructive to efficient work and co-operation with the group. That it is a real danger is recognized by every missionary who has worked with them. Across North India no city pastor puts himself in a position where he must receive his support from them if there is any possibility of gathering his salary from the Mission or from the groups of educated Mission employees. The testimony of the trustee at Lyallpur was typical of this attitude. The amount of missionary pressure and social and economic power necessary to maintain the village self-support programme in our own U.P. Synod is known only to those who have exercised it. The whole tendency of anyone with a sufficient degree of education to escape from this close contact with the village churches and city basti groups is without doubt the fear and the antipathy sure to result from close contact. As the success of the whole uplift movement, however, lies in close

[1] Janet, P., *Psychological Healing*, p. 496.

contact between educated and cultured pastors and teachers with their groups, this antipathy will have to be overcome.

The village pastor and worker, as has been before noted, is exposed to this danger of contagion, which constantly tends to wear him down. In the face of this, the fine adjustment he often makes, and the skill with which he does his work is marvellous. What he might be able to do were he free to concentrate all his energy upon the problems of his people will be indicated later in accounts of work where this has been made possible.

A third handicap of the village worker as well as of any Mission employee is the constant suggestion of inferiority under which he works. Part of this, of course, comes from the caste people in the villages and cities who know his origin. Part of it comes from the extent of his failure in analysing his people and adjusting himself to their abnormal behaviour. Another part, however, comes from his contacts with the Mission and the missionary. Here again the second and third generation Christian is apt to have the greatest difficulty. What Moton says of the Negro is here also doubtless true :

> " There was a time when a large element of the Negro race associated superiority almost invariably with a white skin . . . a black correspondingly connoted inferiority." [1]

[1] Moton, R. R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 22.

This was, of course, true with the depressed class groups. The submissive reaction and the acceptance of the status of inferiority could be taken for granted. It was this docility to which Phillips referred as one of the greatest difficulties and discouragements to work among them. The emerging group with Christian training, that has had more opportunity of contact with the white man has a more critical view of his weaknesses. Along with this, of course, has been the removal of the inhibition to his self-assertion and the growth of the tendency to challenge the idea of innate white superiority. Most of us who are white missionaries still retain a more than sufficient amount of conviction of white superiority with its connotation of inferiority of the groups with whom we work. This feeling is sure to convey itself to the worker and intensify the suggestion of inferiority to which he is already exposed.

The suggestion is rendered more powerful by the heightened suggestibility of the worker due to the nervous strain under which he is working with his village groups. Suggestion consists of action on a group of stimuli without inhibition of any kind. Suggestibility is at its height in light sleep, when all the inhibiting processes are eliminated and the subject is the sport of the stimulus pattern. We have seen before how the worker is forced by outside conditions to concentrate all his adjustive forces to overcome externally arising disadvantages. Over against the subtle suggestion

of inferiority conveyed by the dominating position of the white missionary and his superior attitude and by the place of the Mission, he is hardly in a position to cast it out. The suggestion intensifies his nervous condition and depletes his energy. Embree's remark about the Negro is here again apropos to the Indian worker:

> " The patronizing attitude is really more damning than the competitive struggle. The stark wall of calm assumption of his inferiority is to the Negro a keener hurt and a greater obstacle than the battle which admits an adversary worth fighting against. It is hard to keep ambition alive and to obtain morale when those for whom you have fondness and respect keep thinking and saying that you are only children, that you can never grow up, that you are cast by God in an inferior mould." [1]

In view of this terrific pressure it is not hard to account for lack of initiative, for a failure to create, and for the inability of the Indian Church leaders to reach a high plane of adventure and spiritual achievement.

[1] Embree, *Brown America*, p. 235.

CHAPTER VI

INFERIORITY REACTIONS AND THE NERVOUS MISSIONARY

THE description in the previous chapter prepares us to see something of the vicious circle into which the missionary enterprise tends to fall. The new missionary goes out with more or less race prejudice and ideas of white superiority. His first year of language study and adjustment to new environment constitutes a considerable nervous strain. At the end of the year he is usually put in charge of an institution or a district. His workers are keenly alert to size him up correctly and to successfully make their all-important personal adjustments to his idiosyncrasies. To do this is an exceeding drain upon their adjustive faculties, that is evidenced by the extent to which they plead for the necessity of continuity of the missionary in his particular field. Everything waits for the missionary's word of command. His resentment at this inertia that he sees on every hand is partly compensated for by the subtle reinforcement of his own sense of esteem and self-importance. Thus he soon takes on the feeling that if anything of importance is to be initiated or created it will have to be done by the white man. This tends to lower still further the psychic

tension and efficiency of the worker and in turn to confirm more and more to the missionary the sense of his own importance and indispensability to the enterprise. Few men have the ability to successfully resist these subtle forces that keep working on them, certainly not unless they have their eyes open to their power. If the missionary has come from a somewhat repressed environment his opportunity to exercise authority is apt to go to his head like new wine. This is a danger to which some types of women missionaries are even more exposed than the men.

Enough has probably been said to indicate the strains on the individual missionary, and of the extreme importance of his ability to retain his psychic health and insight. Unless he retains his capacity to inspire and renew the power of his workers he will be of little use on the field. If, on the other hand, his personality is such as to further deplete the resources of his associates he becomes an extreme liability. This one factor of missionary personnel and its effective handling is perhaps the most vital in the whole enterprise. A suggestive chapter in Miriam Van Waters, *Youth in Conflict*, sheds light on this situation. In speaking of the types of personality necessary for successful work with delinquents she speaks of the failure of the authoritarian type. These are the people who have as their main technique the giving of orders and the wielding of authority. This we shall see later is one of the outstanding

marks of the depressed person. Persons suffering from this phase of nervous disorder are not only useless in the task of winning the confidence and friendship necessary to establish effective spiritual contacts, they are active liabilities to the enterprise.

In an article in *Mental Hygiene* in July, 1928, on the psychic health of missionaries some startling facts were brought to attention. The investigation was made by a psychiatrist prompted by

> "a communication from a certain well-known Bishop in a foreign-Mission field inquiring as to the reasons for the frequency of mental irritability and breakdown in the tropics among the foreigners sent to those countries."[1]

One of his findings was that,

> "Out of 203 missionaries in one single Mission invalided back to the Homeland from China 25 per cent. were sent back because of neurasthenia, 8·8 per cent. for insanity, and 2·9 per cent. because of other neuroses, a total of 36·7 per cent. of all the cases of serious illness in the Mission group were suffering from psychopathological conditions."

The author's conclusion was that these conditions could be traced to "psychological causes in conjunction with an unstable personality." The greater emphasis seems to have been placed upon the unstable personalities that would normally be the ones who would respond to the call

[1] McCartney, J. L., M.D., "The Call to Foreign Missions. Its Effect on Unstable Personalities," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1928, p. 621.

of foreign missions. This was done after discounting the reasons that have usually been given of direct sunshine, brightness of atmosphere, cloudiness, strange foods, etc. One quotation, however, bears more directly upon the psychological causes that were mentioned :

" A neurosis may be brought on by the feeling of being under constant observation, and the desire to maintain the prestige that the Occidentals feel their position or their nationality demands." [1]

The findings of this author have been reinforced by the findings of Mission doctors. A report of J. G. Vaughn, M.D., in the *International Review of Missions* says :

" In 1923 a study was made of this question among a staff of 1200 missionaries, 560 of whom reported all causes of ill health during a two year period. It was surprising to learn that the greatest loss of time was due to the nervous group of disabilities. The loss from nervous causes reached 24 per cent. of the total loss." [2]

In view of our description of the conduct and behaviour and abnormality encountered in the depressed class groups, and the findings of Janet and others on the matter of psychic contagion, we can get a larger light upon the psychological factors in missionary breakdowns. We again return to Janet :

[1] McCartney, J. L., M.D., " The Call to Foreign Missions. Its Effect on Unstable Personalities," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1928, p. 621.

[2] Vaughn, J. G., M.D., " Medical Missionary Policy," *International Review of Missions*, October, 1929.

"In spite of all seeming, this complex behaviour provoked by the neuropath, and forced upon all who come in contact with him, leads invariably to the same results: it is very exhausting to the patient's associates, and upon them likewise entails a great expenditure of energy." [1]

Anyone whose experience has given him contacts with the sweeper groups, particularly those collected in the city bastis and military camps, will give eloquent testimony to the above. We need remember, too, Janet's comment on the resultant attitude to patients who exhaust our energy, the attitude of a profound and subtle antipathy. There is probably no missionary who has not been alarmed at some time or other by the discovery of the formation of such antipathies toward those whom he has been trying to serve. The exposure of his person to the contagion mentioned above in view of the result in most cases is a more serious risk than that of exposures to plague and smallpox, albeit a necessary risk. More care, however, should be taken that these risks be undergone by those who are psychically rugged, and that those who take them have the best possible equipment of mental hygiene with which they may meet them.

Not all the missionaries suffering from nervous disorders are invalided back to the homeland. Many of those who remain find in the situation of prestige and authority over against groups accustomed to react submissively to domination, an

[1] Janet, Pierre, *Psychological Healing*, p. 554.

opportunity to wield an authority that yields a certain amount of psychic satisfaction. Some of the types that reach the Mission field come under the description, by Van Waters, of heads of institutions in America:

"If we study the history of man's attempt to deal with delinquency we find that penal and custodial institutions have been usually managed by those who love to command. Capable administrators are frequently men and women who have the military or police habit of mind. By force of leadership or coercion, combined with knack of subduing materials and statistics, they achieve orderly efficient institutions. Their authoritative position is congenial to them. They have no hesitation in making decisions that affect human lives, *since weaker or enfeebled personalities they hold in contempt.*

"They are successful as long as they are in a position to dominate. When *authority is challenged they become maladjusted or resort to acts of cruelty, or intrigue.* Owing to our method of selecting executives, giving preference to those who can 'run the business' with least amount of trouble to boards of managers and political bodies, having in our ignorance little conception of what the individuals who are to be cared for actually require, such personalities are often to be found at the head of reformatories, correctional schools, and hospitals for the insane. *Adult inmates who show small capacity for modification often thrive under* such officials. In the present state of our knowledge they are undoubtedly useful for certain classes of delinquents. *But they are entirely* unfitted to deal with *delinquents in emotional conflicts* or *with those who possess a sensitive capacity for modification of behaviour.*"[1]

[1] Van Waters, Miriam, *Youth in Conflict*, p. 237.

Fleming well describes the forces at work that tend to accentuate this condition:

"Every influence of inertia and suggestion tends to fix the superintending, dominating attitude in the missionary toward the Indian. It is easy for Westerners of a masterful organizing type to continue work which perchance they can do better, but which should long since have been turned over to the Indians. Missionaries show their oneness with the rest of humanity when possession of authority leads to the desire—unconscious though it be—to retain it.

In any field it is hard enough for missionaries to free themselves from a domineering and autocratic attitude which seems—even when falsely based—to be a natural characteristic of Western races. But missionaries in India especially are played upon by innumerable social forces, that tell upon the life, moulding it in spite of principle and reason. In India the white man is a Sahib; every one makes way for the wearer of the sun-hat; people salaam; policemen salute; the many little symbols of a submissive attitude, instilled by decades of British rule, are exhibited toward the missionary without the asking. All the more does he find himself surrounded by suggestions of superiority when he mingles with those classes from whom converts have come. Small wonder it is that with the passing of the years, unless it has been consciously and prayerfully resisted, little ways of arrogance and patronizing manifest themselves." [1]

Other missionaries are realizing something of the danger of this power to the person wielding it. In Bishop Fisher's statement concerning his resignation as Bishop of the Methodist area of Calcutta, we have the following:

[1] Fleming, D. J., *Devolution in Mission Administration*, p. 31.

" Power is a strange thing. Those who wield it are in constant danger. It affects not only those who are ruled but the ruler himself. Several years ago I took a personal vow that if and when I found myself taking any pride in power I would renounce it forthwith. I gradually became conscious of the almost unparalleled power of our episcopacy." [1]

Another factor increasing the danger of a missionary's acquiring a pathological love of power, as he finds himself in the position so well described by Fleming, is the lack of social taboo against undue exercise of power and authority :

" In my opinion," says Professor Diblee, " the most powerful instincts in human nature except at a certain time of life concern domination and having one's own way." [2]

The love of prestige or the craving for superiority is coming more and more to be recognized as of equal power with the sex drive as a determinant in human conduct. Its unrestrained exercise and misuse has equally devastating results in human relations and deterioration of personality. There is a strong probability that the two drives are so closely connected that undue repression of the one stimulates expression of the other. In the New Testament, particularly in the teaching of Jesus, there is a greater emphasis upon the moral danger connected with the misuse of the power urge than upon sexual aberration. There has, however, been nothing like an equal stress upon the two

[1] Editorial, *Christian Century*, July 2, 1930, p. 845.
[2] Diblee, G. B., *Instinct and Intuition*, p. 275.

drives in the teaching and thinking of Western Christianity. The accumulation of personal power and authority and prestige has been a fairly respectable sin that the Church is only beginning to attack. For this reason there has not been the check of moral tradition to restrain the missionary from falling into an easy acquiescence to the situation of authority in which he has found himself. When the habit has been acquired and his superior status established, it becomes almost impossible to let go.

One obvious check against a too subtle and uncritical accumulation of power on the part of the missionary would be to turn over the matter of his choice, transfer and recall to the Church on the field. The desirability of such a step is well expressed by Dr. Brumbaugh in an article in the *Christian Century*:

"In no respect is this superiority complex more evident than in the recruiting of new American, Canadian, or European workers for the field. If in anything the nationals ought to have a voice it should be in the selection and appointment of new foreign workers in their midst. They of course know best what types of personality make the finest impact upon native spirits, and they too know what types of evangelism are most needed in their own country. But instead of giving the nationals a voice in the choosing and placing of new workers, this important matter is determined, almost without exception, by the missionaries themselves and the boards at home." [1]

[1] Brumbaugh, T. T., "Why Missionaries Quit," *Christian Century*, July, 1925.

There is a large amount of evidence in the pronouncement of Nationals to indicate a deep agreement with Dr. Brumbaugh's statement.[1] On the other hand, there is the obvious fact that with all that has been said and done with regard to transfer of missionary responsibility on Mission fields the last reserved subject is the choosing and placing of the white personnel.[2] Since most Mission

[1] " In the *Jerusalem Conference Report*, Vol. III, on the 'Relation of the Older and Younger Churches,' a number of statements and plans of devolution are presented from various world fields. A letter from the officers of the Congregational Board of Foochow to the A.B.C. heads its recommendations with the question of personnel: (1) 'The Church requests the Foochow Mission of the American Board to prepare a list of the present staff, etc.' From the date of the transfer, all changes in location, office and assignment to work shall be made by the Executive Committee of the Church, subject to the approval of the individual concerned.

" Before any missionary leaves the field for regular furlough, the Executive Committee of the Church shall decide the question of return to the field and the nature and location of such missionaries' work for the next term of service, such decision to be subject to the approval of the Prudential Committee of the American Board.

" Requests for missionary reinforcement . . . shall be made directly to the Prudential Committee by the Church."

In the programme of the (Kumiai) Churches and the A.B.C. in Japan in 1922 the same provision is made.

The same provision is made by the Committees of the Kwangtung Divisional Church in China in 1925, a Church cooperating with the A.B.C., the American Presbyterian, and the United Brethren Missions.

In the Canton Conference on the definite request of the Divisional Council of the Church of Christ in China missionaries are allotted to be under the direction and control of the Council.

[2] " Aside from the schemes of devolution mentioned in China and Japan, none of the many elaborate plans that are recorded in the *Jerusalem Conference Report* have any record of white missionaries being placed under the control of the Churches.

Boards have allowed the initiative for detail of transfer to remain with the Mission Association on the field the responsibility for the above reservation is largely due to the missionaries themselves.

One of the reasons for failure to place missionary personnel under control of the Church is the fact that any mission organization will have at least a minority who find it extremely difficult if not impossible to relinquish the authority that has been handled for a long time, and to place themselves under the direction of the Nationalist Church or its leaders. Among these will be a group who will fight vigorously, and who would probably find it impossible to make the radical adjustments that might be called for. It is not difficult to assay the weight of this factor in the decision of many missions to vote white at this point.[1] On the

This absence is especially noticeable in the various Indian plans. The transfer of this item in China coincided with pressure and demands from the Nationals, made under the influence of the rising tide of nationalism."

Note.—Since the *Jerusalem Conference Report*, progress has been made in India on the point of recognizing the right and expediency of the Indian Church having a voice in the location and recall of foreign missionary personnel. The British Wesleyan Mission was pioneer in this field for many years. The C.M.S. and the S.P.G., the American Methodists, the American Presbyterian and the Madura Missions have more recently adopted the principle.

[1] An observation of Moton's with regard to the Negro is doubtless apropos.

" He also had a wholesome regard for the racial solidarity of the whites, of which the individual white man is so quick to take advantage and before which the individual Negro is utterly helpless." Moton, R. R., *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 22. Missionaries

other hand, we need refer again to Janet's observation to see how sound is the instinct of National leaders in stressing this point and how necessary it is that they have a deciding vote in the location and recall of their missionary helpers.

We need constantly to keep in mind this vicious circle to which the missionary is exposed, that tends to accentuate any tendency toward nervous authoritarianism. Its effect upon behaviour is well described by Janet :

" The best collaboration, that which in appearance demands the least expenditure of work, is the giving of orders. When such orders or most of them are obeyed, the individual who has acquired the habit of giving orders has a feeling of security and comfort inspired by the recognition that a great many persons are at his disposal and are his subordinates." [1]

The effect of the nervous missionary upon his Indian colleagues has been already described. He is as exhausting to them as are the villagers by whom the workers are surrounded. He arouses in them the sentiments mentioned by Janet, the expression of a profound and subtle antipathy.

need to be more awake to this tendency to go into a racial huddle at the point of conflict of racial interests. A Chinese National expresses the same feeling : " The Chinese have a saying that the missionaries breathe through one nostril." A group of Indian Church leaders one day told me that the Indians have a saying with regard to the missionaries in their relations with Indian workers : " The elephant has two kinds of teeth, one for show and one for chewing." The concealment reaction here evidenced has probably the same genesis of nervous fear as had the conduct described in the Negro quarters and the bastis.

[1] Janet, Pierre, *Psychological Healing*, p. 508.

This antipathy, as most missionaries in their contact with depressed groups have discovered, is a very real thing. The Indian pastor who is in constant contact with such groups is generally a hard pressed individual. Under no circumstances should he be subjected to the adjustment to a nervous authoritarian missionary in whose presence he must spend considerably more energy in adjusting himself and concealing his real feelings. The neuropathic missionary in a position of authority is extremely expensive psychically to a group of men who have no energy to waste. It is the antipathy born of this relationship that will give the Indian leaders the power of invariably choosing for recall the missionaries who have the least chance to teach or to influence them beneficially. Had Mission Boards availed themselves of this discriminating choice long ago there would have been immense saving to the work, and a better opportunity for adjustment at home for persons unfitted for the field. In forcing missionaries to pay more attention to the growth within themselves of a subtle love of power, it would have made all who survived more fit for the work to which they have felt themselves called. The missionary personnel should be the first subject handled in all proposals that look to having the Church assume greater responsibility, rather than the last.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIAN CHURCH AT WORK

(*a*) Attacking the Concealment Reaction

Data bearing on the proposition set forth in the preceding chapters with regard to the reasons for the spiritual inefficiency and lack of creative leadership in Indian Church leaders is furnished from the history of an Indian Church Project extending over a period of fifteen years. In the preparation for this project conditions were created that removed the first of the three handicaps mentioned under which the Indian workers laboured. The need of adjustment to the missionary in charge was neutralized by placing the arrangement and control of the project under the Indian Church group. Its success and continuance depended to a large extent upon his success in winning and retaining the confidence and co-operation of the Church. The second factor was present only in a milder form, as the Church group was composed of educated and able people who were hardly to be compared to a village group. The initial change of attitude on the part of the missionary that produced a sufficient sense of expectation of results came through a severe spiritual tension and experience. The resultant exhibition of

creative thinking, and courageous persistence on the part of Church leaders was a revelation.

In view of the conditions of stress under which evangelists and pastors in the mass movement churches have been at work it will not be difficult to see that the Church they are attempting to lead will not be an organization with a high degree of spiritual efficiency. Most of the membership of the Church labours to a greater or less extent under the stimulus of domination. We are prepared to see the reason for the lack of aggressive evangelistic and social outlook, about which there has been complaint and despair in most parts of the Indian Church, as well as in that of many other fields. The project mentioned has stimulated the search for the factors entering into the spiritual condition of the Indian Church. In this project many of the findings given have been discovered and tried out.

In the fall of 1916, after a year of language study in the Punjab, the writer was assigned to work in the city of Rawalpindi, a city with a population of about 80,000 in the Mohammedan territory North of the Jhelum river. Rawalpindi was a centre of a district about 90 per cent. Mohammedan, a district outside the mass movement territory. This territory north of the Jhelum river contained about half the area occupied by the United Presbyterian Mission, but only 1½ per cent. of the Christian community of our field. There were three organized Christian Churches in this part of the field, all self-supporting and

independent congregations, although the buildings in which they worshipped were owned by the Mission. Rawalpindi itself is the headquarters of the Northern Army and an important military centre. It contained two of the three Churches in the area, one in Rawalpindi city and the other in the military cantonment. Rawalpindi Presbytery is the Indian Church organization in charge of the Church work in this area. The third Church was in Jhelum city, 70 miles to the south.

In the two districts of Jhelum and Rawalpindi were Mission evangelistic parties, each composed of an American missionary and his family, two American women and a number of Indian evangelists, all supported and maintained by the foreign mission organization and entirely under its control. The Churches as such had no responsibility and no part in this work. Of course, when an occasional convert was brought in through the efforts of the missionary party he was baptized in the Church. There was a considerable amount of criticism that arose from this arrangement ; on the part of the missionaries of the lack of a warm atmosphere and welcome for the converts ; on the part of the Church of the kind of converts turned over to them. There were a few fairly recent converts about, whose condition was precarious, who had failed to make a satisfactory adjustment in the Church. Their conditions too were such as to produce the subtle antipathy mentioned by Janet, both on their part and on that

of the Church group. They had to find most of their inspiration and fellowship with the missionaries who had brought them out and to whom they developed a pathetic and passionate attachment. This too brought criticism from Church leaders that the new converts were babied and spoiled by the missionaries. There was, of course, practically no insight or knowledge of the psychological factors that were involved in these relationships. The most common explanation was that because of their origin more was not to be expected from the Indian Christians for several generations.

The chronic complaint about the inefficiency and selfishness of the mass movement evangelistic workers and pastors was equally applicable to the Indian Churches. The conditions producing this inertia were much the same as those described concerning the workers. The Rawalpindi City Church, one of the strongest in the whole Synod, was composed largely of Mission employees, teachers, clerks, and servants in the Mission College, High School, and Girls' School. These were formidable institutions under missionary management. With these employees were also Christian students from the schools and college, the families of Mission evangelistic workers, some of the missionaries and their servants. The shadow of the Mission dominated the Christian community like that of Walpole's Cathedral. The Church supported its own pastor as well as

a Home Mission worker who shepherded a group of Christian sweepers. These were nominally members of the Church but scarcely ever attended its services. Services and teaching were given them by the Home Mission worker in the city sweeper quarters. The Church had no programme outside the care of its own members, nor was it expected to do more than take care of its own support. Indeed, in view of the varied explosive elements within the Church, keeping it going was no small undertaking. This lack of vital concern with anything outside itself was fairly characteristic of groups in most of the cities. I well remember the outburst of a missionary in another of the larger cities as he one day blurted out: " The Indian Christians of —— are the most selfish, self-satisfied, self-centred people on the face of the earth."

My assignment to the work was two-fold. The first was to manage the Mission High School, an institution with about 600 boys, most of them Sikhs, Mohammedans, and Hindus, with about thirty or forty Christians. About thirty-five men were on the staff, of whom ten, including the headmaster, were Christians. The headmaster, a man of my own age, was a man of ability and achievement, the first village Christian boy in our Mission if not in the Punjab to be placed as a headmaster of an important Mission High School. He had been in charge for about eight years, with a fairly free hand in running the High School under

the management of the Principal of the College. Experience as a science teacher and football and basketball coach made it possible for me to fit into the life of the school as an instructor. I was, of course, struck with the spirit of deference with which I was met, compounded of a fine Indian politeness and of reaction to the fact that the jobs and the salary increments of all on the staff were largely dependent on my own good pleasure. There was also doubtless plenty of speculation as to how the new manager and the headmaster would get along. He carried out all the detail of running the school, while the manager was held responsible to the Mission for the conduct of the institution. His difficulty was accentuated by the fact that his spectacular rise made him a target for the shafts of those who were envious of his power and prestige. All this made it necessary for him to exercise a strong hand. It was a situation that was made for trouble, although, of course, he knew that if it came he was the one who would have to give in.

The other assignment was the evangelistic work of Rawalpindi city. This comprised the oversight of two groups of illiterate Christians working in the brick kilns; the supervision of a reading-room and a book depository in the bazaar. Two Indian men were in charge of these two institutions, neither of them with much education, one of them an elder of the Church, an outspoken individual of strong character. Another evangelist of about

High School grade under my supervision looked after the two groups in the brick kilns and worked as assistant in bazaar preaching.

The bazaar preaching was not a particularly inviting prospect. Traditionally it was a part of the programme of the missionary assigned to city evangelistic work and so fell to me. Twice a week we went out in front of the reading-room, the evangelist and myself. As I had no working knowledge of the vernacular, he preached while I sat on the bench for moral support. Handicapped by his lineage and educational lacks he did the best he could. The Ahmaddiyas and the Arya Samaj were then in the land, militant groups of Mohammedan and Hindu Modernists, ready to challenge every statement made by the Christian preacher. The evangelist attempted to answer all the questions asked ; the meeting usually ended in confusion. It was a deadly programme, my own feeling was that we were wasting time. Not a single enquirer came to our book rooms as a result of the whole winter's preaching.

A strong conviction of the need of an evangelistic programme, together with the futility of the work we were carrying on, produced a no-response situation that was bringing about a fairly serious personal depression. There seemed to be no rational adjustment open that was satisfactory or acceptable. A tradition had grown up that all that could be expected of the Church was to look after its own people while evangelistic work among

Mohammedans and Caste Hindus was the province of the Mission and its organization. Conversation with the headmaster of the High School revealed his opinion also that the bazaar preaching was a fairly futile process. What kind of an evangelistic programme was feasible? Constant brooding over the situation brought the conviction that no programme would have any effect unless it was undertaken by the Church organization. That conviction made the situation seem still more hopeless. It was impossible to visualize that Church undertaking an effective spontaneous programme of evangelism in the city, in the face of its background, the traditional division of labour and the extreme difficulty of the work itself.

The difficulty was accentuated by the fact of the inexperience of the missionary. The Church was self-supporting, had its own pastor and session, an organization in which the missionary had no authority. There seemed to be no way to break into that circle. An election to the chairmanship of a defunct evangelistic committee of the Presbytery gave me an opportunity. Exploration among the Church leaders revealed the fact that various members felt that something more adequate in the way of an impress on the city should be made, although there seemed to be no plan in anyone's mind. Enough were interested, including the pastor and the members of the session, to make it possible to arrange a weekly congregational prayer meeting to ask for guidance.

The prayer meeting continued during most of the summer with no noticeable result. It was merged into a prayer meeting for the Sialkot Convention, a religious gathering of Christians held in the early fall. When the convention was over the pastor of the Church suggested that the meeting be dropped as there was no apparent result. We decided, however, to hang on a little longer. Three weeks later the headmaster of the High School, who was also a member of the Church Session, said that the Christian staff in the High School had decided to accept the responsibility for holding the preaching services one day a week. This was a great break in the situation. When news of this decision reached the College staff one of the Indian Christian professors there promised that with the Christian students he would take the responsibility for the other day. The winter's work began with this set up.

No one who had experienced the effect of the preaching the first winter and that of the second winter with the new alignment could ever forget the difference. The first winter we had no record of a single interested enquirer. The second winter there were enquirers after every day's preaching. The city was stirred up as interest grew from week to week. A committee was appointed by the Church to arrange for formal lectures in the High School auditorium, to be addressed by various members of the congregation, where opportunity would be given for discussion and questioning.

These meetings were to be held weekly during January and February. The headmaster was to preside. The meetings were well advertised and the auditorium was packed at the first session.

When the lecture was over pandemonium broke loose. No rules or time limits for the discussion had been agreed upon. The lecturer himself was not prepared for the rough and tumble of the question period. One of the district evangelists, a Mohammedan convert, to whom controversy was the breath of his nostrils, came forward to do the answering. He, however, seemed to have lost some of his native caution, and allowed himself to be caught in a dialectical trap. The meeting was finally closed after great difficulty with the Hindus and Mohammedans filing out feeling that they had won a great victory.

The next day there was a meeting of the congregation to decide whether or not the lectures should be continued, and whether the debate should be allowed. The eight weeks' series with the promise of opportunity for discussion had been well advertised. The majority seemed to feel strongly that the discussion should be eliminated. The congregational debate waxed hot. One of the College men, a Hindu convert, finally referring to the self-appointment of the district evangelist to the job of answering questions, said that if it was decided to continue the controversy he was unalterably opposed to the process of having Balaam speak and Balaam's ass answer the

questions. This was too much for the Moslem convert-evangelist. He arose with fire in his eye and with a biting sarcasm flayed the group. " Don't be afraid, little children, no one will hurt you. Some of us have been taking this opposition all our lives and are still living. You want to run to cover at the first taste of it. Don't be afraid."

With enough of the vernacular to follow the debate, but not enough to enable me to take part in the discussion, I sat with a peculiar sense of fear and anxiety, as the revival apparently was ready to blow up. Just at this stage, however, another College man spoke; oil was poured on the troubled waters, a unanimous decision was arrived at to continue the lectures with the discussion but to have the debaters limited in time and in number of speeches. The series was completed with effective handling. One evening in particular when one of the Arya leaders made remarks about the private life of Jesus there was a rumbling from Mohammedan benches. " Let us handle him." It was from such situations that some years later a number of Hindu-Moslem riots started. " You see the result of such remarks," said the head-master, turning to the one who had made them. " We Christians can keep ourselves in control, but if you continue you are likely to stir up trouble." At the close of the meeting the Arya came up with a graceful apology.

The Indian Church Synod had arranged this year for an evangelistic campaign week, with

recommendations that it be celebrated by the Churches in its jurisdiction. The time arranged was the first week in March. In conversation with the pastor on the desirability of asking for volunteers to work in that week, the pastor said every one in the Church would help.

The two congregations united in this effort, the Churches were divided into five parties that were to preach every day and were expected to cover the city. Stress was laid on the selling of gospels as the objective of the preaching as an effective method of seed sowing. The women were organized to cover the homes of the city. The pastor suggested that on Saturday the Church go out in procession through the bazaar. This was done. The procession went through the heart of the city, making about twenty stops for three or four minute speeches, carrying banners, singing, and selling gospels. There was a picture of what happened at Pentecost when men came to Peter and said these men must be full of new wine. Something of the same abandon was in evidence in the procession. The whole city was stirred up. About 1200 gospels were sold by the members of the Churches during the week. There was as much excitement as when Barnum's circus came to a small town in America. Hindus and Muslims looked on the procession with awe and with quiet attention. The Christian Church in the city was definitely on the map. As a co-operative creative project and a spiritual adventure the programme

of the winter was a great success. Reports in the Synod that soon followed from various centres created a degree of enthusiasm for a manifest spiritual movement. With the approach of hot weather the preaching was stopped with every one looking forward to renewed effort along the same line the next winter. We were all, however, at the approach of hot weather ready to let down for a while after the year of intensive preparation and high power effort. The problem of handling enquirers and prospective converts was now becoming increasingly pressing.

Meanwhile conditions in the school were somewhat unsatisfactory. I was feeling myself to be a mere figurehead around the institution that I was supposed to manage. Here and there things cropped up that seemed to require change or correction. One day, at a chapel service, three small boys, of the family of a religious leader of the Sikhs, who were pupils in the sixth grade, were given special chairs alongside the members of the staff. On enquiry I found that they received this same privilege of having special chairs in the classroom. My democratic principles were shocked, and after consulting with the headmaster I told him this was something we couldn't have in a Mission School. He insisted that what he had done was the proper thing, and was in accord with the spirit of the country. The former manager was home on furlough and all the missionaries in the station were junior men. I was firm that the

matter would have to be corrected, the headmaster said I couldn't overrule him. It was a direct challenge that had to be met and the decision was made. The conflict helped bring on an attack of malaria and that afternoon I was in bed. He came to the house, said the boys were in the school only temporarily and were leaving in three weeks. Under the circumstances the matter was dropped with the understanding that it would be the future policy that no special concessions be made on account of family. This was agreed to. Later the headmaster said he thought I myself intended to write to the parents of the boys and change the order. When he was assured that this had never been contemplated he said the whole thing was a misunderstanding, we shook hands, and the matter was apparently ended.

When the time came for planning the fall and winter activities the meeting of the congregation's evangelistic committee was eagerly anticipated. During the winter the headmaster had a number of times expressed his joy and enthusiasm at the success of the programme and the efficiency with which the Church had functioned. The pastor, too, with tears in his eyes showed a deep sense of gratification. He had advanced the ideas that had contributed most to the success of the project. Although at that time none of us had made any study of the psychological implications we had been led into a demonstration of a principle stated by Dodge and Kahn :

"When the scale of values is forced on the individual by factors of the environment, either social or any other, the individual reacts under constraint. This tends to evoke a feeling of inferiority. When the scale of values is subjective and the individual reacts centrifugally to modify his environment he may be said to act in relative freedom. He dominates the environment. Every centrifugal act consequently tends to evoke a feeling of superiority." [1]

We had found a real remedy for transforming and removing inferiority reactions.

The meeting, however, produced a surprise. When it was held and Presbytery's committee put up the proposed programme, there was a fiery speech of opposition and non-co-operation by the pastor. He had asked for a two months' leave of absence to candidate in another congregation, but before he left he effectively steam-rollered all proposals. I was stunned, and next day asked the headmaster if he could give me any light on the situation. He said he thought the pastor had resented the fact that the Church situation had been discussed to such great length with the headmaster rather than with him. This had been done it is true, the chief reason being that a faulty use of the vernacular and the pastor's limited use of English made free conversation impossible. The headmaster assured me, however, that the session would appoint a committee and arrange for carrying on the winter's preaching.

[1] Dodge and Kahn, *The Craving for Superiority*, p. 13. (Quoted with permission of the publishers.)

(*a*) ATTACKING CONCEALMENT REACTION

The preaching began with a good corps of workers. Something, however, seemed to be wrong. The programme was lifeless. The headmaster came occasionally but pleaded the pressure of the details of the school as a reason for not taking as large a part as he had done the previous winter. No enquirers came. The machinery was being pushed around but without power. Those of us who were taking part felt we were up against a blank wall. After six weeks of this I mentioned my convictions to the headmaster and asked him to put a request before the session for permission to allow the committee from Presbytery appointed for stirring up interest, to speak at the Church. He said he would put up the request, but his attitude indicated that he would oppose it. I rather bitterly accused him of this, and indicated that I was satisfied that there were reasons somewhere hidden for the kind of reception we were meeting in the bazaar. He invited me to attend the meeting of session to be held that evening and voice my misgivings.

I attended the meeting. There were five members of the session, the three strong men being the worker in charge of the book depository, the headmaster and the librarian from the Mission College. The two other men were fairly agreeable persons who kept out of controversy. The man in charge of the book-room challenged my statement that the work was not going well, citing the numbers that were out helping. I reminded

him of the lack of enquirers and interest. The College man spoke up. He represented the College faction, a fairly self-conscious group and a constant vocal minority in the congregation. "There is something wrong," he said, "and I think I can tell you what it is." At this point the headmaster spoke up. "Last winter I had great joy and enthusiasm in this programme. But in April an affair came up between the sahib and myself in the High School that took the heart out of me and I have not been able to co-operate." This was a revelation. He had kept his hurt so well concealed that I had thought the affair was settled and forgotten. More was to come. The man who had been asked to report on the work at Rawalpindi at the meeting of Synod was another member of the College minority who had led the College group in the preaching. He was a member of the Church in cantonment and not of the city congregation. On both of these counts he was a poor choice to represent the programme which had been largely handled by the City Church. At the Synod he had made a rather florid speech in which he praised the zeal and initiative of the new missionary who had made this programme possible. The College elder said the pastor had come back from the Synod fuming, and passed the word around the congregation that here was another case of the Indians doing the work and the missionary taking the credit. Although this word had gone through the congregation I

had been absolutely unaware of it during the six months.

On top of this came another disclosure. Just before we had held our meeting to prepare for the second year's campaign work, meetings preparatory to a communion service were to be held. I was asked to preach one of the sermons. As this was to be my first attempt at preaching in the vernacular the preparation was hard work. I took a sermon I had preached at home on "Ezekiel's Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones." The theme in mind, of course, was the idea that the Lord could make an army out of anything. The view taken by the congregational leaders who heard was coloured by the whispering that had been going about in the congregation. They gathered from the sermon the intimation that they were a lot of dead ones until the young prophet had come and blown some spirit into them. Awareness of the effect of this speech was not long delayed. One elder stood up and gave the speaker a severe verbal drubbing. The College elder said that the bitterness caused by that speech was still rankling.

All this plain speaking made it possible to get some things straightened out. The controversy at the High School was explained. It was a situation due to the present form of the Mission organization and should hardly have been allowed to enter a Church programme. They were reminded of the fact that I had nothing to do with

choosing the spokesman at Synod and no knowledge of what he was going to say. Regarding the speech I had made my plea was my limited use of Urdu and the statement of the theme I really had in mind. The atmosphere was somewhat cleared and the evangelistic work took on new life. The pastor accepted a call to the other congregation. The headmaster helped but not to the extent he had the year before. He was ill of tuberculosis and died of the disease in the summer of 1921.

The relations between the headmaster and myself never quite reached the plane on which they had been during that winter of close fellowship. Both of us made honest efforts at reconciliation, and in the winter before his last illness we seemed to have succeeded. What had been done to him by concrete reminder in our controversy that under the Mission system he could never be more than a subordinate to a white missionary had driven him into the reaction of concealment. The principle is again stated by Dodge and Kahn :—

> " When circumstances prove too strong for the individual the feeling of inferiority tends to be reinstated. Consciousness of being dominated places the individual in a position of inferiority, while consciousness of dominating places the individual in a position of superiority." [1]

[1] Dodge and Khan, *The Craving for Superiority*, p. 14. (Quoted with permission of the publishers.)

There seems to have been no other possibility in the position in which we were placed by the character of the Mission organization.

The second year's campaign went through with co-operation, enlarged book sales, and a total effect on the city quite comparable to that of the first year. This was the winter of 1918-1919. The winter of 1919 and 1920 was a year of growing Nationalist tension, following the Amritsar trouble. A white face in North India in those days was not an asset. A heartening advance was made, when it was almost impossible for missionaries to sell gospels, by the younger schoolboys and girls who accounted for about 25 per cent. of the campaign sales. Their volunteering for the service was on their own initiative. The programme of 1920 and 1921 was a revelation of the Churches' courage and persistence. This was the year of high tide of Nationalist India's bitterness and resentment. There was little discrimination between British and Americans as targets for this resentment. Preaching in the streets was increasingly difficult, although the pronouncements of Gandhi were furnishing heartening backgrounds for the Christian message. Stones were thrown more than once. The city was largely in the hands of Congress and Khilafet Committees. Appeals to these groups from the Indian Christians for fair play brought responses that indicated how profoundly Gandhi's programme was affecting the mentality and spirit of the people. Friendly announcements

at mass meetings urging that no one interfere with the Christians in their preaching made possible the regular programme of covering the native city by preaching parties and the annual procession.

These years of transferring responsibility to the Indian Church and working under its direction were highly educational. The College professor who had made the Baalam's ass observation, a shrewd old Christian gentleman, said, "You are trying a new experiment in working under the direction of the Indian Church. We'll see how it turns out." His misgivings were shared. The experience at the session meeting, along with a number of others, revealed delicate adjustments that would have to be made continuously. The successful concealment by the whole Church of a common resentment, over a period of six months of constant contact, created grave doubts of an ability to fellowship and share with them in a way that such a co-operative programme demanded. The extent to which the responsibility of maintaining proper spiritual contacts would put power to interfere in the management of the school in the hands of the Indian session, more than once made it seem better to drop the attempt. Every step in the work opened up new, seemingly insoluble problems. A long vista of increasingly complicated situations could be vaguely discerned. Only the conviction that this method was along the line of the Will of God kept it from being dropped.

(*a*) ATTACKING CONCEALMENT REACTION

Through the fifteen years of experience of building and working in a programme of the Indian Church, one outstanding personal value was this necessary maintenance of spiritual contacts with Indian colleagues mentioned above. This value is well expressed by Evelyn Underhill:

> " On this point we may agree with a great ecclesiastical scholar of our day that ' the more the educated and the intellectual partake with sympathy of heart in the ordinary devotions and pious practices of the poor, the higher will they rise in the religion of the " Spirit." ' Yet this family life of the ideal religious institution with its reasonable and bracing discipline, its gift of shelter, etc., all this is given at the price that is exacted of all family life, namely mutual accommodation and sacrifice, place made for the childish, the dull, the slow, and the aged, a toning down of the somewhat imperious demands of the entirely efficient and clear-minded, a tolerance of imperfection. Thus for the efficient and clear-minded members there is always in the Church as in the family, a *perpetual opportunity of humility, self-effacement,* gentle acceptance; of exerting that love which must be joined to power and a sound mind if the full life of the Spirit is to be lived. In the realm of the spiritual this is a solid gain; though not a gain we are very quick to appreciate in our vigorous youth." [1]

The free Indian criticism, so desperately needed by the young missionary, is usually denied him because of the curtain of secrecy produced by the dominating effect of the Mission organization and the stigma of inferiority it generates and helps

[1] Underhill, Evelyn, *Life of the Spirit and Life of To-day*, p. 131.

maintain. The criticisms given in the session meeting of resentments that had been effectively concealed for six months, came only because my identification with the programme of the Church gave the session as effective a hold on me as I had on any of the Indians. It was this factor, fairly unique in missionary experience, that allowed the penetration through the racial curtain, that made possible a renewed understanding and co-operation. It is *a commonplace of Christian teaching that concealed resentment makes spiritual co-operation impossible.* Some of the psychological mechanism of the process was given in an earlier chapter. It was referred to also in the paragraph of Van Waters on the reason for the ineffectiveness of the dominating type of mind

" for dealing with those who possess a sensitive capacity for modification of behaviour." [1]

Dr. Adler, out of his experience as a psychologist and an educator, has well phrased the principle :

" The degree of readiness to be influenced is dependent upon the degree to which the rights of the one on whom the influence is exerted are considered by the one who exercises the influence. *It is impossible to have a lasting influence upon an individual whom one* is harming. *One can influence another individual best when he is in the mood in which he feels his own rights guaranteed.* This is an important point in pedagogy. . . . We may expect that children who feel themselves oppressed by their environment will show a

[1] Van Waters, Miriam, *Youth in Conflict*, p. 237.

deficient amenity to the influence of their educators. Cases occur, however, in which the external pressure is so strong that it removes all obstacles, with the result that the authoritative influence is retained and obeyed. It is easy to show that this obedience is sterile of all social good." [1]

It is practically impossible for any foreign missionary working under the Mission system to fail to cause "offences and occasions of stumbling" among his Indian colleagues. The subtle forces mentioned by Fleming in the preceding chapter as always at work on the Indian missionary will increase them. Of most of them he will be unaware. The three occasions mentioned by the session would have been buried in the realm of my own forgetfulness had opportunity for expression not occurred. *It is imperative, at any cost, to get these causes of resentment outside the curtain of concealment.* Any process that shuts off the free constructive criticism of the missionary and the mission by the least of the Christian Nationals is deadly in its effects upon spiritually effective co-operation. There is *every reason to believe that the type of a white Mission that is common on the fields, whose programmes and procedure often have been kept secret, and that has become more or less a symbol of oppression, in one aspect of its effect* upon the Indian Church, is the *greatest single contributing factor* to the spiritual *deadness in the* Churches.

[1] Adler, Alfred, *Understanding Human Nature*, p. 263.

CHAPTER VII (*continued*)

THE INDIAN CHURCH AT WORK

(*b*) Releasing Creative Energy

A fairly common criticism of National Churches on the Mission field as well as of the Eastern character has been its tendency to imitate rather than create. Some of the most disheartening sights the new missionary sees are little vest-pocket editions of American Church organizations, apparently lifeless, but with every detail often down to the illustrations in the sermons, poor imitations of the American or English Church services. One of the complaints often voiced by missionaries where devolution has followed along the line of joint evangelistic or educational committees of the Mission and the Church organization has been the lack of any constructive suggestions by the Nationals. This has been especially true where the Indian committees have been advisory with the final authority to pass on committee reports in the hands of the Mission. This condition has in large measure been attributed to innate difference between the dominating adventurous creative white and the submissive, patient, imitative Oriental.

The most important factor in producing this imitative attitude has been the submissive reaction

to the stimulus and suggestion of inferiority. It is not hard to see how this would be. The one who has accepted the status of an inferior in the way that was voiced by Moton, " there was a time when a large element of the Negro race associated superiority almost invariably with a white skin—a black correspondingly connoted inferiority," would inevitably find a longing to be like the dominant superior white. His attitude and institutions and status would represent the highest that might be attained. A biting satire by a Negro, George Schuyler,[1] represents his conception of what would happen in the U.S.A. if a process were discovered to change the colour of a black man's skin. In this story the process was discovered, advertised, and a fee of 50 dollars was charged. The black population of the U.S.A. was eliminated in a comparatively short time. The extent to which Indian Christians adopted skirts, stockings, shoes, hats, neckties, topees, etc., and the number that " passed " to the status of Anglo-Indians has long been a concern of thoughtful missionaries. The nationalist movement as well as the emergence of a spirit of protest on the part of Indian Christian leaders has arrested the process. The copying has been a result of a process of wholesale suggestion of white superiority.

One of the most gratifying results that emerged from the Church project in Rawalpindi was the production of creative thinking and adventure and

[1] Schuyler, George, *Black no More*.

heightened morale. This constitutes data of the highest importance in the questions here raised. New values and possibilities were created that have affected the life of the Church over the whole of North India. The ideas that have formed the permanent basis of the campaign project were all embodied in the suggestions of the Indian pastor and another worker during that first winter. The new power became available also in other fields of endeavour. The group of Indian men in Rawalpindi were enabled to give a lead to a financial development within the Church whose maintenance constitutes a challenge to missionary statesmanship.

The programme in Rawalpindi City described in the former chapter was carried on in the winter of 1917-1918. The year 1917 then was the first full year of this evangelistic effort in the Synod of the Punjab.

An analysis of the contributions of the Indian Synod for the two ten-year periods before and after 1917 show some rather striking figures. They are as follows :—

Year.	*Contributions in Rs.*	*Year.*	*Contributions in Rs.*	*Year.*	*Contributions in Rs.*
1908	10,588	1916	16,854	1923	33,415
1909	13,477	1917	17,730	1924	45,284
1910	16,049				
1911	18,275	1918	17,869	1925	48,356
1912	14,619	1919	20,633	1926	46,793
1913	15,435	1920	25,053	1927	55,000
1914	16,275	1921	27,000	1928	52,000
1915	15,655	1922	34,440	1929	52,000

Note that the total increase in the annual contributions for the ten years preceding the evangelistic programme was about 70 per cent. For six years prior to 1917 there was a slight decrease. The increase for 1917 to 1927 was 225 per cent. (The parallel of the gain in financial strength with the growth and success of the evangelistic effort is significant.)

In the autumn of 1919 a missionary returned to India with authority from the General Assembly in America to launch the New World Movement in the Synod of the Punjab. This was the forward movement carried on by the American Church at the time of the Interchurch movement in America. A strong committee was appointed and the movement was taken up enthusiastically by the Synod of the Punjab at its meeting in the spring of 1920. Objectives were adopted somewhat along the line of objectives at home, viz. as to numbers of intercessors, tithe payers, family altars, new congregations, new elders, pastors, and Christian teachers. A financial objective of Rs. 100,000 was set up, half of this for Church buildings, 35 per cent. for buildings in the Home Mission field, and 15 per cent. for industrial scholarships, this amount to be realized over a five-year period. The Home Mission budget which at that time was Rs. 3000 a year was to reach Rs. 10,000 a year by 1926, the end of the five-year period over which the movement was to extend. One year was to be given over to

intensive preparations and propaganda and the canvass for five-year pledges for the financial objectives was to be made in 1921. The machinery for carrying on the programme was largely a duplication of the machinery used by the Home Church. Missionaries themselves have a certain responsibility for the idea that the best the Indian Church can attain is a fairly poor imitation of an American or British programme.

The organization was completed and the work of preparation was carried on with considerable enthusiasm. As the time approached for the canvass there was a lot of misgiving; 1920 and 1921 were years of failure of the rains in the Punjab. Distress was widespread. It seemed to be no time to carry on a campaign for increased contributions. Many of the leaders of the Church were confused by the complicated machinery and by the increased burden of work incident to the whole programme.

Our situation in Rawalpindi Presbytery was, in many respects, more favourable than that in the rest of the Synod. We had to cultivate only in the city Churches. The Christian community in the Presbytery was connected largely with the two congregations in Rawalpindi and the one in Jhelum. With 1½ per cent. of the Christian community we had an assignment of 8 per cent. of the financial objective. (This was based on the percentage of the funds of the Synod actually contributed by Rawalpindi Presbytery the previous

year.) However, our people, too, were feeling the pinch of famine conditions. About three months before the time set for the financial canvass in our own Presbytery one of our most forward looking elders said to me, " Sahib, I don't know what our Church will do if the Mission does not relieve us of some of our financial burden, we have more than we can handle." As chairman of the Presbytery N.W.M. Committee I wondered how, in the face of this condition, we could ask the Churches to make a 60 per cent. annual advance over their present contribution.

The winter of 1920-1921 was a trying one also for the Church's evangelistic programme in Rawalpindi. Non-co-operation was at its height. On several occasions stones were thrown during the course of the bazaar preaching. During the month of January, influenza was prevalent. There was serious illness during the winter in the family of every missionary and in the families of all the members of the two sessions. There was a very real danger in any attempt to carry on the regular campaign-week programme. More than once during the winter we felt that conditions were too much for us and that the special evangelistic programme for that year would have to be given up. It was a season of spiritual depression. There was considerable dissension among the leaders of the Church. Along with this was a great burden of responsibility. Reports from other sections of the Church showed an inclination

to postpone the matter of the canvass for another year and to say nothing of the financial objectives. Some of us realized that unless Rawalpindi Presbytery with its more compact and better educated Christian community could furnish the Synod with a lead there was grave danger of the whole movement collapsing of its own weight and ending in a disastrous failure. This realization added to the spiritual tension of the winter.

As the time approached for campaign week the Church concentrated on the preparation for its witness-bearing programme. The preaching bands went out into the bazaar as in former years. Opposition and trouble was met in a fine Christian spirit. Success and satisfaction was furnished by a good sale of gospels and effective preaching. The courage of the members of the Church made an impression whose effect still persists. Since that year there has been no organized opposition to the bazaar preaching. A profound feeling of gratitude was in evidence in the Church for the work that God had done. About a week later came the spring meeting of Presbytery. After the report of the evangelistic week the matter of the financial canvass was brought up. At first the opinion was almost unanimous that the load was impossible. After a season of prayer the matter was again discussed. It was felt that there was no use postponing the canvass and if it was of the Lord there was no better time to take it up than the present. Hearts

were warmed by the successful issue of the evangelistic campaign. The motion to go ahead with the canvass was made by the same elder who a few months before had complained that the financial burden of the congregation would have to be reduced. The missionaries present agreed that half the subscription should be shouldered as their share. A committee composed of the pastor and one elder from each congregation was appointed to make the canvass. Ten days' limit was given as the time before reporting. The reports came in within a week.

In presenting the budget to the Presbytery a mistake had been made that was not discovered until several years later. Rawalpindi Presbytery's share of Rs. 100,000 budget was Rs. 8000. We were also assigned 8 per cent. of the annual budget for Home Missions, which by 1925 was to reach Rs. 10,000 a year, making our share Rs. 800 a year. In putting the budget before the Presbytery, it was put at Rs. 12,000, which sum included the Home Mission budget of Rs. 800 a year for five years. No one noted the mistake at the time and we canvassed for a budget of Rs. 12,000 instead of Rs. 8000. Within a week when reports came in we had pledges for the five years of Rs. 15,000, Rs. 3000 over our goal, and Rs. 7000 more than our assignment. The yearly Home Mission amounts were raised in addition to these totals. Of course later experience showed that getting pledges and collecting the money were

different matters. At the end of the five year period in 1926, Rawalpindi Presbytery had collected and turned in Rs. 12,000 on its N.W.M. pledges, 150 per cent. of the amount assigned. Of the total financial goal of Rs. 100,000 for the Synod Rs. 40,000 were finally realized.

There is one outstanding fact in the history outlined above. Only the new faith and spirit generated by the success of the evangelistic week in the face of the difficulties before the Church, made possible the decision to canvass for new funds in that year of famine.

The amount of success and satisfaction in their new achievement gave to the Church incentive for increasingly effective religious education. Out of the raising of the New World Movement money, sufficient faith was generated to enable the Presbytery to initiate work in two new frontier stations. The money to organize and aid the Churches there was raised without recourse to foreign funds. Rawalpindi Presbytery in 1925 took on the first building project that resulted in building activity in the Synod that supplied nine city Church buildings, four city parsonages and a number of village buildings. This property, worth about Rs. 100,000, was, with the exception of one building, the first building work financed by the Synod in seventy-five years of its history. Rawalpindi Presbytery handled about 30 per cent. of the whole programme.

Another significant step in the development

came when for the first time the Christian sweepers in the cities were enlisted in the evangelistic campaign work. The early part of the witnessing activity was carried on by the educated members of the city Churches. The raw material constituting the body of Christian sweepers, if it was considered at all, was thought of as hopeless material. Segregated and oppressed, with most of their unsocial and selfish character traits scarcely touched, they were accounted as evangelistic liabilities rather than assets. They were usually taught by mission teachers, contributed practically nothing to the Church, and were the despair of the workers. They were considered much harder to influence than even the village group. They rarely ever attended the regular Church service.

The question kept coming up as to whether the same experiences that had been so useful and refreshing to the city Churches, would produce results with these groups. As chairman of Presbytery's committee the first group I expected to try to enlist was at Gujar Khan, a city about thirty miles south of Rawalpindi, in which the only Christians consisted of about fifteen families of sweepers with a teacher. The text usually used for enlistment for this service was the text "Ye are the salt of the earth." These sweepers had probably been called everything in their day, except "salt of the earth." I was not able to visit them to apply this text. I did not believe it myself, and it would be impossible to make them

believe it without some strong faith somewhere in evidence. A few weeks of inner conflict were necessary before the meeting could be held. At first the message produced no response. At last one old man said: "Sahib, this is foolishness, no one will take those books from our hands." A boy sitting near said, "Old man, you are *sweeper at the Islamia School*[1] and can easily sell your ten books." The ice was broken, the group agreed to join with the Church in the work of gospel selling and when their report was turned in we had a record of 160 books sold by them. Other heartening reports came in from similar groups. The Christian sweepers in Rawalpindi Cantonment sold 500 gospels. One man went to a judge and a lawyer engaged in conversation near the court house. "Get out of here, you sweeper," was the greeting he received, given with a lot of abuse. "Even if I am a sweeper I have a right to escape from hell, haven't I?" was his ready response. He sold his book. Budhoo, a worker in the brick yards, said he hardly knew what to do. He felt too shy to go out alone. He went to the official announcer in cantonment, the man who gathered the crowds by beat of drum and trans-

[1] The Indian sweeper's monopoly of his profession gives him an access to evangelistic contacts impossible to any other group. The humour and irony of this situation make a strong appeal to his craving for superiority and help transfer his striving for a pseudo-superiority into socially useful channels. The process is along the line of a psychological correction of indirect hysterical reactions.

mitted government messages. "Come with me and announce what I tell you, and I will pay you for it." The two went into the bazaar, the crowd gathered around on hearing the beat of the drum. "This announcement is not from the Deputy Commissioner, it is not from the Cantonment Magistrate, it is from the living Christ. 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.'" Budhoo sold fifty books that week.

This activity suggested fascinating possibilities for the work along the North-West Frontier Provinces. The two stations opened by the Presbytery, Abbottabad and Kohat, were difficult frontier cities. The only Indian Christians there when the work was organized were groups of servants. When the Indian leaders went up in answer to their earnest request for workers they were told that no Foreign Mission was undertaking the work and that if they wanted pastors they would have to pay. After consultation they agreed to contribute at the rate of a rupee a month, per family, a sum equal to one-tenth the monthly pay of a Cantonment sweeper. The work was begun and carried on on this basis, and these groups had maintained a standard of giving about sixteen times that of similar groups in the older parts of the field where work was first undertaken by the Mission.

In both the cases cited the treatment for inferiority fell within the line of Dr. Adler's suggestion :—

"We approach such an individual not as a degraded worthless outcast, but as a fellow human being; we give him an atmosphere in which he will find that there are possibilities for feeling himself the equal of every other human being in his environment."[1]

One of the indications that a cure was under way was the new "cheek" and self-assertion noticeable in all these groups. They were more outspoken, more difficult to handle, less prone to conceal their real or fancied resentments. The expectation that they give for the support of their religious service like Christian gentlemen rather than like sweepers produced a response albeit only a beginning of the re-education process.

Presbytery continued its activity in the field of expansion by calling a conference at Abbottabad of all the Christian forces working north of the Jhelum river. It was called for the purpose of surveying the task, the resources, and for suggesting a programme for handling the evangelistic work of the North-West Frontier. C.M.S. delegates came from Peshawar, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, and the Danish Pathan and Central Asia Mission delegates came in from Mardan and Kashmir. The C.M.S. extended an invitation to the delegates from Rawalpindi Presbytery to put before them the Church's campaign project. It was found that scattered throughout this North-West territory where evangelistic activity was almost at a standstill, there were Christians in thirty-five

[1] Adler, Alfred, *Understanding Human Nature*, p. 77.

centres. Wherever there were advanced outposts of the Army, Christian camp-followers were in evidence, considered largely problems rather than assets. Visits of enlistment were paid to nearly all these groups while the united programme of the Indian Church for the region was explained. The work was carried on with adequate preparation and enthusiasm. Reports were turned in of 10,000 gospel sales by the Christian forces of the frontier, about half of them by groups of servants. The enthusiastic experience and reception of the message reported from Peshawar, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan were much like that of the first year in Rawalpindi. Striking personal achievements of individual Christian sweepers were reported from Kohat, Jamrud, and Tank. The description of these places contained in Lowell Thomas' *Beyond the Khyber Pass* gives a suggestive background for the understanding of what had taken place in this region. This united campaign was in the spring of 1927. The change in evangelistic outlook on the frontier was such that enthusiastic reports by the C.M.S. missionaries at the meeting of the Punjab Christian Council caused the Council to recommend the observance of the week with the basic objectives worked out in Rawalpindi Presbytery, as the official programme for all the Churches in its sphere of influence. This was carried out for the first time in 1928 over an area extending north to south about 550 miles from Peshawar to Delhi and

approximately the same distance from east to west. Reports were turned in from fifty-seven centres with sales of gospels amounting to over 50,000. In 1930 it extended to the Churches in the United Provinces and in 1931 to the Central Provinces. Cawnpore, Delhi, Multan, Karachi, Ludhiana and Gojra District all turned in inspiring reports of an adequate impact on their communities. From all the areas again came stories of creative achievement by humble individuals in the villages and bastis. One of the reports in 1930 told of a servant in Delhi who bought in the bazaar miniature Nationalist flags which were taboo, and went around to offices in Delhi offering a Nationalist flag with every copy of the gospel. Five years of successful campaign effort over the Punjab as a whole have already made a large contribution to the project of building within the Church habits of sharing what they have with the larger surrounding communities.

In appraising these results, particularly in the changed lives of sweepers as well as of others in the Christian community, we need to keep in mind a caution voiced by Wieman that:

"Very frequently psychotherapists claim that religion is very crude and unsatisfactory as a means of cure. Such is the view of Pierre Janet who is, perhaps, the greatest of them all. And yet, we can use his own words to prove the superiority of religion in this field, when religion is at its best. 'It is the patient's conduct that must be reformed in its entirety. He must be taught to live a life worth living; and to

attain this he must be taught a sort of stoicism tempered with Christian charity. Such an ethics is to *alter his will as a whole.* Such a profound change of morals will indirectly suppress all the symptoms, for it is obvious that a will that has reached such a high degree of superiority will no longer tolerate such defects.

" 'From the theoretic point of view that seems to be superb ; from the practical point of view it leaves me uneasy. Doubtless it is always useful and right to change a lazy coward into a brave worker, or an egoist into a generous man, and such a transformation may have the happiest effects on the pathological symptoms. But this is a very extensive undertaking and one that seems to be not always necessary. Is this what the patient demands of us when he comes to rid him of a tic, of insomnia or of a stomach pain ? Have we time and means for it ? It would be easy to show that the alliance between physician and preacher such as appears to have been realized at Boston in the "Emmanuel Movement" is not very reasonable, and that it is, in spite of appearances, as irksome for the preacher as for the doctor.' "[1]

Wieman goes on to say :

"Janet plainly says that the only complete cure or prevention for these ills, the one which the psychotherapist treats, is to 'alter the will as a whole.' And this he implies is the work of religion. But this radical transformation of the 'Will' through religion is something for which the psychotherapist has not the time and means. With all this we thoroughly agree. But all this only supports our claim that religion is the agency by which this more thorough and complete

[1] Wieman, *Wrestle of Religion with Truth,* p. 121. Janet, Pierre, *Principles of Psychotherapy*, pp. 111-112.

cure and prevention are accomplished, provided there are ' time and means ' to apply it.

" But we would go even further than Janet in saying that this religious cure cannot be applied by either pastor or physician, or the two in combination, although there are many cases where one or both can render a very great assistance. There may be many cases where religion can be brought in as an auxiliary, if it is done wisely. But in general and the largest way, no man or group of men can apply religion to the cure of other people as one might apply a medicine or a message or any psychotherapeutic treatment. Genuine religion is something which each man must find for himself. Others may help immensely, to be sure. But the help of others can only be to point and suggest the way. The chief help they can offer will be the religion they themselves experience and practise. Methods and formulas cannot confine religion. It evaporates out of them. Any method or formula one may devise for treating the mentally ill cannot, for this reason, be very efficacious in transmitting the help of religion to the sick. Religion simply will not stay inside the bounds of such methods of treatment.

But if the patient knows religion can help him, and if he avoids the false notions of what religion is, he may by searching find it and so attain its power to cure or to prevent these grievous ills of human nature. He may put himself in the way of catching the great enthusiasm." [1]

The process at work in Rawalpindi developed by exposure to faith and enthusiasm. Its contagion was increased by every incident where faith was developed into creative experience.

[1] Wieman, *ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

CHAPTER VII (*continued*)

THE INDIAN CHURCH AT WORK

(*c*) Colliding with the Mission

Initiative, the high grade trait that is so much in demand, is partly a matter of imagination, partly a matter of will. It demands inventiveness in seeing what can be done, zest for action, and an independent and masterful spirit."[1]

The analysis comes from a modern psychological writer. Stress has been placed in the foregoing chapters on the need of encouraging in the Indian leaders a spirit of independent thinking and plain speaking. Mental health and creative activity were both wrapped up in these qualities. The amount of mutual criticism and plain speaking increased with the growth of the co-operative programme and the closer fellowship which it involved. This tendency to open criticism brought with it dangers that had to be faced.

It has already been noticed that the period of 1920 and 1921 was a period of high tide of nationalistic feeling in India. Just as at a later period in China, this spirit manifested itself in the Church. Letters from some of the leaders in North India brought delegations to the fields from

[1] *Woodworth's Psychology*, p. 545.

the various Boards. Both the Presbyterian delegation and that of the C.M.S. were instrumental in bringing about changes in the form of administration of Mission funds and in relations between Church and Mission. In our area the initiative was taken by our own Board which sent out a secretary and a layman to visit Missions in the various fields. The Indian leaders in the Synod felt that this would be a good time to present their grievances and suggestions for improvement of the work. They met in conference, assigned topics to be presented, and completed their preliminary programme. No missionaries were called in for this discussion. The programme was to be presented at a meeting of the Synod at which the missionaries and the representatives of the Board were to be present.

The preliminary meeting was evidently rather stormy. Later reports indicated that proposals were discussed suggesting the names of four missionaries for recall. Cooler council prevailed and this resolution was not presented. The papers presented were rather sharp and bitter in their criticism. Some of the missionaries had an inkling of what was coming, and decided that their best tactics would be to sit quiet and take no part in discussion nor to object to the points presented. The various papers were read one after another. One Indian leader voiced their disappointment that their American elder brothers were not helping them present their case by discussion of the points

brought out. One question raised was on the emphasis upon the fact that it was American money that kept the Mission work going. The Indian brother asked whether the money was American or the Lord's money. If the latter the American stamp might be removed. A sentence that echoed something of the difficulty that had occurred between the headmaster and myself came at the close of one of the papers. " The appointment of a fresh American as manager of a High School is no longer desirable." When that sentence was read a group of young theological students in attendance looked over my way and applauded vigorously.

The meeting continued while all the papers were read, most of them in English, for the benefit of the visiting delegation. When at last they were finished the lay delegate was called on for his remarks. He assured the Church of his love for them. Then he let them know that they hadn't made " much of a hit " with him by " dragging the missionaries through the mud." He assured them that money he or anyone else contributed was their own until they gave it. They would not get any of it to use except as the missionaries wanted them to use it. It was rather rough handling. The secretary then assured the Synod that their sentiments would be presented to the Board and asked them to remember that the layman was the kind of a fellow the Board had to deal with. Missionaries then arose to assure the

delegates that the Indians weren't usually as obstreperous as they had seemed that day. The Indian men had nothing more to say. A Mission committee was later appointed to meet with a committee of the Synod empowered to discuss any causes of grievances which the Indians had. By the time the committees met the Synod's committee decided that they really hadn't anything to discuss. The tactics followed by the missionaries and the delegation seemed to have been exceedingly effective in producing a peaceful solution of the difference between themselves and the Indian leaders. It was probably, however, the peace of a spiritual graveyard.

This behaviour was later interpreted in various ways by different missionaries. Very little light was cast on the procedure by the Indians themselves and the Mission work went on in its even tenor. Curiously, none of the leaders in the agitation were men from Rawalpindi Presbytery, nor were any of the papers read by any one from that part of the field. It seemed as though the programme that was under way in that Presbytery was furnishing a sufficient field for expression to take the sharp edge away from resentment. The Indian leaders were remarkably successful in concealing any feelings they might have had about that conference. The only comment I heard from one of them came about six years later from a young pastor in Rawalpindi Presbytery who, at the time of the conference, was a

theological student. "The Indian leaders seemed to have had a healthy reaction from the conference in 1920, and to have realized that the foreign money will have to be administered by the Mission," was my comment to him. "No, the effect of that conference on the Indians was that they decided it was no use to try to tell the missionaries anything," was his rather startling reply. The Mission and the Synod Committees on Closer Relations continued to meet at intervals for seven years, but in that time attempts to get them to make suggestions as to readjustments that would be acceptable to the Indian Church were without avail. The concealment reaction was again working effectively.

The Abbottabad Conference held in 1926 had made possible the first united evangelistic effort in the N.W.F.P. As an organ of the Churches functioning in the field it seemed to hold out promise of rich development. The third conference held in 1928 had as its subject the Church's Relation to New Converts. This was the thorny problem of the adjustment of converts from Islam and Hinduism to a Church with a depressed class background, a problem similar to that of many fields in the Near East, and a problem hitherto without a solution. It was a question with which early missionary leaders in India had wrestled mightily. Missionaries in the eighties spoke of it as the mountain peak difficulty of Mission work in India. It had been shelved for a long time as

converts from these classes had practically ceased. The Church's activity again brought it to the fore. In the ten-year period in Rawalpindi, from 1918 to 1928, enquirers and converts had included every type of unstable personality; criminal delinquents, paranoiacs and cases of incipient dementia praecox as well as some fine independent spirits and searchers with a hunger and thirst after righteousness. We had an extremely meagre equipment for dealing with these and for sorting out the sheep from the goats.

Nervous conditions of many who came had been accentuated by conflict factors similar to those that had produced shell-shock during the war. Islam still contains within it a large amount of fear of hell fire. One missionary quoted to me a saying of Maulvi Khuda Bux, one of the early converts from Islam: "The thing that drives Moslems to Christianity is the fear of hell fire that they carry about in their bones." Over against this fear is the fear of social consequences of a break from Islam. This produces one of the no-response emotional situations that is a peculiarly fruitful source of nervous disorder. The convert who had made a break and then found himself a member of a hostile suspicious Church group was in a bad way.

One of the discoveries we had made at Rawalpindi was that this wall of suspicion and coldness was largely absent when enquirers and converts came as a result of the Church's own activity.

The Church group was as pleased and friendly as a cat with a new kitten, and possibly for much the same reason. The psychology of the situation seemed to be that of the parent who didn't mind being awakened at midnight to administer to her own baby, but was not willing to be disturbed by other peoples' babies. The Church had a warm atmosphere for her own spiritual children. It was really a discovery of the first magnitude to find that the gulf between Christians from the depressed classes and Hindus and Moslems was a question of the generation of a proper spiritual attitude rather than a result of racial antipathies whose removal would be matters of generations and centuries.

Rawalpindi Presbytery and the Churches on the frontier were perhaps the only Church groups that were handling an extensive evangelistic programme among Hindus and Moslems. This was particularly true in the bounds of our own Mission where this form of activity, where it was done at all, was handled as a Mission programme controlled by the missionary and his professional helpers. The same handicaps and difficulties mentioned earlier in connection with the work in Rawalpindi were consequently in evidence. The subject to be dealt with at Abbottabad was a live topic.

One of the speakers selected was a young intellectual, a Muslim convert, who had been converted in Sialkot under the ministry of a keen young missionary. His experience during five

years as he attempted to make his adjustments in the Church which had no evangelistic programme was peculiarly difficult. He was asked by the conference committee to speak on the topic: " What the New Convert Misses in the Church." Five years of accumulated bitterness went into a forty-minute speech that opened up a free-for-all discussion lasting two hours. The group was ideal for discussion as half the Indian men were Church leaders, second and third generation Christians with a depressed class background, while the other half were converts of from forty years to two weeks' standing. His speech burned and blistered. Its substance was that the only reason there were so few converts from Islam was that the Church didn't want them and couldn't digest them if they came. It was not all one-sided. The pastor of the Church from which the speaker had come said that another difficulty that had not been mentioned was that no Mohammedan convert could be trusted. This remark produced an explosion. When the bell rang to end the two-hour discussion period thirteen men were on their feet trying to get the eye of the chairman. At the beginning of the debate an older missionary from the frontier stood up to challenge the right of the speaker to blaspheme the Church. The speaker was defended by one of the pastors on the committee of management who said that they were getting just what they had asked the speaker to give.

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It was a great occasion. The nearest thing to it on record was the reading of a paper in the Punjab Missionary Conference in Lahore in 1862, by Rev. Golak Nath, one of the first Brahmin converts in the Presbyterian Mission. At the instigation of some of the missionaries he read a paper on the missionaries and their converts that produced somewhat similar results. At Abbottabad, however, the controversy had been shifted away from the missionaries to the Indian leaders where it belonged. This shift was a high point in the whole matter of the Indian Church Project. A pastor told me of being awakened at 2 o'clock in the morning by an elder pacing up and down the floor saying to himself, " the Church is not dead, the Church isn't dead." We came away from the conference with the feeling that a definite difficult stage had been passed in the history of the North India Church. Immediately after the close of the conference I left for a ten-day tour in the southern part of our field.

Coming back to Rawalpindi I found things in a turmoil. A young Mohammedan convert who had been baptized in the Rawalpindi Church about three years previously had been teaching in the Mission College. He was a good teacher and knew his subject, but was a rather difficult personality. He had been badly in debt and this had been a source of trouble to the college authorities. A further report of unsocial conduct having reached them they decided the man would

have to be discharged. This was done while the Abbottabad Conference was on, and a successor was advertised for. A Mission rule that a Christian teacher could not be discharged without the consent of the Men's Educational Board was overlooked. The teacher was waiting at Rawalpindi full of his grievance when the Indian leaders returned from Abbottabad. It was like dropping a match in a tin of petrol. The pastor and the members of the session immediately took up his case. A conflict was precipitated with plenty of open discussion and criticism. The discharged teacher was waiting on my doorstep. The young pastor who had defended the speaker at Abbottabad came with an ultimatum: "Tell the Mission Educational Board that if they fail to make this matter right there will be no more preaching by Rawalpindi Churches." I tried to tone him down but it was impossible. The College authorities let it be known that if I brought the matter to the attention of the Mission Educational Board they would consider it an unfriendly act and undue meddling.

Presentation of the case to the Mission Board resulted in an offer of the College authorities to explain their side of the case to the members of the two Church sessions. The matter of prestige, however, was at stake, and there was no question of reopening the issue. Neither side was satisfied. The teacher had his right of appeal to the Men's Educational Board. The Synod also had an

Educational Board that usually met in joint session with the Mission Board. The Indian leaders in Rawalpindi sent in a request to the Mission Board that the appeal be heard by the Joint Boards. This request was refused and the College action was approved.

The Abbottabad incident coincided with a letter from the Board in America insisting that the Mission take steps to find the way to get the Indian Church to take over a greater responsibility for work being carried on by the Mission. Negotiations have been going on with most of the radical proposals coming from the men in Rawalpindi Presbytery. They have indicated their feeling that the advance programme they have carried on has been used by missionaries to justify a standpat policy by the Mission. A number of leaders had been voicing their opinion that the Synod programme of activities is too heavy and in danger of collapse without a greater co-operation between Mission and Church than is possible with the Mission's inflexible organization. Since 1928 no advance work has been possible although several attractive prospects within the bounds of possibility have been before the Presbytery. The Church has settled down to a policy of maintaining past gains until the issue between Church and Mission is settled. This, of course, means a slow disintegration of past, hard won advances.

White Mission organizations in no way controlled by the Churches with which they are

trying to work are bound to produce one of two results. The first has been elaborated in the description of the relation of the Mission to the Indian worker. In accentuating the feeling of inferiority and encouraging the submissive reaction to this it makes impossible any creative activity or advance on the part of the Church. If, on the other hand, a temporary awakening and advance is begun, inevitable conflict with deeply intrenched, independent Mission institutions will create resentments that produce the loss of gains already made. The missionary who seeks first to serve the Church finds himself in an impossible situation as he begins to transfer primary loyalty from the white Mission group to that of the Church. As has been mentioned by Dr. Brumbaugh [1] the last point a Mission concedes of its own initiative is the handling of white personnel. In general, in any Mission organization an Indian can hold a position only in subordination to some white man. It would seem that a continuous spiritual efficiency is impossible without the Mission's being moved out of the picture. While it exists the observation of a Chinese leader is almost invariably true :

> " The Church hangs on to the Mission like the tail on an elephant." [2]

[1] Brumbaugh, T. T., " Why Young Missionaries Quit," *Christian Century*, July 19, 1928.

[2] Cheng, C. Y., *The Chinese Church in China To-day Through Chinese Eyes*, Editor T. T. Lew, p. 106.

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It will be well to close this thesis on a plane of optimism. One of the fields that is attracting attention from all over India is that of the British Wesleyan Synod in Hyderabad, Deccan.[1] With only fifty years of history in the field it numbered a Christian community of 74,000 in 1929. There is only one organization in control, in which all phases of the work are represented, including that of the lowest paid village teacher and of the women. The present secretary and executive officer was elected by the Synod in 1915. Since that time the Christian community has increased from 20,000 to 74,000. The Indian annual contribution has increased from Rs. 4753 to Rs. 46,432 a gain of 1000 per cent. From eight districts superintended by white men the Synod has expanded to thirty-five districts, all but eight superintended by Indians. The Indian superintendents work at a rate of from Rs. 24 to Rs. 60 a month, plus rent and provident fund allowance. In the district of one of the Indian superintendents a movement from among the caste Hindus has begun that has resulted in more than 6000 baptisms in five years. The salaries of the superintending officers, as are all the salary rates, are handled by the Synod. The secretary in conversation said to me: "Since authority has been turned over to the Indian men in the Synod they have become ten times as efficient."

[1] Statistics from the 50th Report of the Wesleyan Mission in Hyderabad District for 1929.

One project worthy of special mention is the maintenance of a rest home for village women workers. In view of the condition of the worker in the village an opportunity to get away for change and refreshment is imperative. Too often this sort of relief has been possible only to missionaries and a comparatively few highly paid Indian workers.

The emotional power back of the abnormal craving for superiority latent in the depressed class group, when it becomes socialized, is a real reinforcement of power and achievement. The highest aim of Mission policy should be to keep out of the way anything that will hinder or thwart its social expression. Any form of organization that is not open to effective criticism by responsible National leaders is a handicap to spiritual fellowship too heavy to be borne. Criticism that finds no effective channel of expression tends to produce an apparent unresponsiveness that conceals resentment. This emotional reaction often results in disorder and disintegration of personality. The tendency toward the formation on the field of single organizations of control with Nationals dominant needs desperately to be speeded up.

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